HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Taxes, Spending Go Up

LBJ Reneges on Cutback Promises

Q. Does President Johnson's State of the Union message presage any revolutionary new goals for the "Great Society"?

A. With an eye half-cocked toward the election returns, LBJ refused to unveil any radical new proposals, but neither did he forego the statist objectives he has previously announced for his Administration. Indeed, Johnson insisted the new Congress "must continue to strengthen the administration of every program" that the 88th and 89th Congress has adopted. He also hinted that he wanted it to undertake some new welfare and education projects—even while the Viet Nam war costs are greatly expanding. The President made it obvious that he would urge clearly reluctant lawmakers to spend even higher totals on anti-poverty programs, demonstration cities, Medicare and other equally exorbitant schemes.

President Johnson addresses Congress and the nation during his State of the Union speech. In the background are Vice President Hubert Humphrey and House Speaker John McCormack.

Q. The President, his spokesmen and even some press reports, however, refer to LBJ's $135-billion budget for fiscal 1968 as an "austerity program." How much of a "bare-bones" budget is it?

A. Well, where is the austerity? The United States is engaged in a war in Viet Nam which is costing the government at least $2 billion a month, according to current estimates. Yet the President's proposed $135-billion budget contains such items as a $2-billion anti-poverty program—$300 million *more* than Congress appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30 of this year. The new budget, according to White House sources, also contains a billion-dollar pay raise for federal employes. In addition to these and other costly programs, the President has plans to raise welfare spending under Social Security and Medicare—two items whose costs are not reflected in the normal administrative budget referred to most frequently in the press. For instance, the President says he wants to extend Medicare benefits to another 1.3 million people not currently covered and increase Social Security payments by an average of 20 per cent, "adding $4.1 billion" in payments in the first year. Thus, far from paring down expenses, the President is planning to swell welfare costs by over $6 billion a year.

Q. President Johnson has often talked of moving "toward a balanced budget." How is he making out?

A. Not very well at all. According to Johnson's own figures, expenditures for fiscal 1967, ending June 30, will be $126.7 billion—the greatest amount of money any Administration has spent in history. The budget deficit, again according to Johnson, will be $9.7 billion. For fiscal 1968 beginning July 1, LBJ proposes to spend a grand total of $135 billion—$35 billion more than the Johnson Administration was spending just two years ago. Johnson projects that during fiscal 1968 the administrative budget deficit can be "held" to $8.1 billion, but *only* if Congress votes the tax increase Johnson desires—a highly doubtful proposition.

Q. Can even this $8.1-billion deficit projection be relied on?

A. Not by past performance. On Jan. 21, 1964, LBJ insisted in his first State of the Union message that he planned to move "toward a balanced budget" in fiscal 1965. Deficit for fiscal '65 was $3.5 billion. The next year Johnson said he planned to "continue along the path toward a balanced budget. . . ." Deficit for fiscal 1966: $2.3 billion. The following year Johnson claimed he would reduce the deficit for fiscal 1967 to $1.8 billion. Now, as he himself admits, the deficit will be $9.7 billion. Judging by previous predictions, the President may be underestimating the $8.1-billion projected budget deficit for fiscal 1968 by many billions of dollars. (When the budget itself comes out next week, various questionable methods LBJ has used to arrive at this $8.1-billion figure will, judging from past years, undoubtedly be revealed.)

Q. How much is Johnson planning to raise taxes?

A. Far more than his State of the Union message would suggest, judging from statements emanating from Administration sources. The President talked about a 6 per cent surcharge on "both corporate and individual taxes—to last for two years or as long as the usual expenditures associated with Viet Nam continue." As explained, this would mean that a family or corporation paying $1,000 a year in taxes would have to pay $60 more per year, or 6 per cent of $1,000.

Johnson refused to reveal, however, the fact that Social Security taxes would also undoubtedly have to be raised if Congress adopts his Social Security proposal intact. Indeed, none other than Welfare Under Secretary Wilbur Cohen, the "father of Social Security," admitted to the National Council of Senior Citizens last week that Social Security contributions would have to be raised approximately $4.5 billion to pay for LBJ's proposed 20 per cent average increase in payments.

Q. Will the President attempt to push the federal government even further into the field of education?

A. In his State of the Union message the President suggested that Congress should "develop educational television into a vital public resource to enrich our homes and classrooms." He will also undoubtedly ask for larger appropriations for the Teacher Corps, a federally controlled agency which recruits teachers for slum areas. Whether he will get the money he needs for the Teacher Corps, however, is another matter. House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D.-Okla.) has said that loss of Democratic representatives in 1966 would force the shelving of the Teacher Corps for 1967.

Q. Does LBJ plan to expand federal control over the cities and states?

A. His State of the Union message broadly hinted at just such an attempt. The President indicated he would use federal powers to revise the constitutions and laws of states, counties and city governments to suit Washington's whims. Suggesting he will set up additional regional authorities such as those that already exist under the Economic Development Administration, he urged that "we must find ways in which the multitudes of small jurisdictions can be brought together more efficiently. . . ."

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90th Congress:

DANGER AHEAD

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to find out what you can do about it.

Holy Chutzpah!

Javits for Vice President?

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Too Few Pilots? Blame McNamara

Page 5

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Frank C. Hanighen (1899-1964)

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CAPITAL BRIEFS

● **Bobby Kennedy** is reportedly furious at the television networks for "embarrassing" him during the President's State of the Union message last week. Armed with an advance copy of LBJ's speech, the TV cameramen zeroed in on Bobby at the very moment Johnson called for a prohibition against wiretapping and "bugging." Washington politicos are certain that LBJ purposely raised the wiretap issue to make Bobby, who has recently been caught with his hand in the electronic cookie jar, squirm uncomfortably.

● During LBJ's State of the Union message, **Earl Warren** vigorously applauded when the President urged Congress to expand trade with Communist nations.

● Some 1,000 persons, predominantly Negro, jammed the Capitol steps last week to give support to **Adam Clayton Powell** in his hour of need. Among those who rallied to his cause: Stokely Carmichael, head of SNCC, and Lincoln Lynch, a CORE leader. A few yards away from Stokely was another Powell rooter, Frank Wilkinson, an identified Communist who has consistently led the fight to abolish the House Committee on Un-American Activities.

● The New Year's issue of Moscow News, an English language publication in the Soviet capital, featured greetings from various world leaders, including Secretary General U Thant and Cuban President Oswaldo Dorticos. The only messages from Americans came from Cyrus Eaton, longtime Soviet apologist, and **Charles Percy**, freshman Republican senator from Illinois.

● Columnist Maxine Cheshire of the Washington Post tells this story on U.S. Ambassador to Moscow **Llewellyn Thompson**, who has a reputation for "giving in" to Soviet demands. Thompson, states Mrs. Cheshire, was playing poker with columnist Art Buchwald and "got bluffed out of a big pot. . . . As he raked in the chips, Buchwald's worried comment was: :If I can do that to him, what can the Russians do?'"

● Sen. **Edward Brooke** (R.-Mass.) has made some radical pronouncements and is surrounded by a flock of liberal advisers, but a few hard-nosed conservatives on his staff are also known to have a good deal of influence with the GOP lawmaker. Some Republican politicos, in fact, are convinced that Brooke is open to good argumentation and might turn out to be less liberal than many have supposed. Much may depend on whether such conservative-oriented senators as Dominick, Tower and Murphy take Brooke in tow and debate the conservative side of various issues with him.

● Texas Gov. John Connally, who considers the William Manchester opus, **Death of A President**, to be a pro-Bobby campaign tract, will write his own version of the tragic day in Dallas. Connally, who has remained silent thus far, believes that Manchester's book is a vicious attack on conservatives and Texas.

● Florida Republicans, who last fall elected three House members and a governor, are now casting hungry eyes on the Senate seat to be relinquished by retiring Democrat **George Smathers** in 1968. Last week, GOP Rep. Edward J. Gurney, a solid conservative who was re-elected without opposition to his third term, indicated he was interested in the seat. Democratic hopefuls include Rep. Charles E. Bennett, also a conservative and former Gov. Leroy Collins, who was once head of the U.S. Civil Rights Commission.

● **Ted Sorensen**, the late JFK's speech writer and an intimate friend of Bobby Kennedy, will be the Democratic candidate to run against Sen. Jacob Javits in 1968, according to New York political leaders. (For more on Javits, see Willard Edwards' revealing report, beginning on page 6.) Sorensen was recently maneuvered by Bobby into the chairmanship of a newly created New York State Democratic Advisory Committee.

● The January 9 issue of **Advertising Age** informs its readers that "Chas. Pfizer & Co. recently filed a trademark application with the U.S. Patent Office for a deodorant called Romney."

● Ultra-liberal Sen. **Joe Clark** (D.-Pa.) suffered a humiliating defeat last week. The Philadelphia blueblood, who faces certain primary opposition from party "regulars" next year, had announced his candidacy for the post of secretary of the Democratic Conference. A week before the election, Clark announced that he had more than enough votes to win. But when the ballots were tallied, Clark had lost to the moderately conservative Sen. Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia.

● District Attorney Arlen Specter of Philadelphia predicted recently that in 1967 two dozen confessed murderers will go free in the City of Brotherly Love. "And there is nothing we can do about it," Specter complained. The **admitted slayers** will be freed, he said, because of rulings by the U.S. Supreme Court, which has developed new rules and made them retroactive to untried cases in which the police have completed their investigation.

● Former Rep. **Neiman Craley** (D.-Pa.), unseated last fall after one term in Congress, has been rewarded for his loyal service to the Administration. Craley was named assistant commissioner for Public Affairs of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, a $17,000-a-year plum. He was defeated in November by former Congressman George Goodling.

● **Rush to Judgment**, Mark Lane's literary defense of Lee Harvey Oswald, has been made into a movie. The film, which purports to show Oswald innocent, recently had its world premiere in Mannheim, Germany. Lane and producer Emile de Antonio are currently negotiating with the British Broadcasting Co. and hope to bring the "documentary" to the United States.

● The Communist party hopes to make **Adam Clayton Powell** a cause celebre and political martyr. A pamphlet distributed by the party says that Powell was "lynched" solely because he is a leader of the Negro people and a courageous fighter for the common people." The leaflet describes the anti-Powell campaign as "racist gang-ups and judicial lynchings."

● The National Committee for a **Sane Nuclear Policy** (SANE) has decided to open its membership to Communist party members, according to the pro-Communist National Guardian.

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Congress: The Curtain Rises

Barely after the curtain had been raised on Congress last week, it became swiftly apparent that the new 90th, in contrast to the old 89th, would not be Lyndon's plaything. The Democrats, it was true, still outnumbered the Republicans in both the Senate and the House, but the prevailing mood in both parties was distinctly conservative. For instance:

• Rebelling against their own leaders, the majority of Democrats, in a separate House caucus the day before Congress officially opened, voted overwhelmingly to strip Harlem playboy and fugitive from justice Adam Clayton Powell from the chairmanship of the powerful House Education and Labor Committee. It was the first time in 42 years that a House chairman had been deposed. Democratic leaders had suggested that Powell step down temporarily, pending an investigation of his abuses of the government payroll and evasion of New York's laws, but most Democrats rejected any compromise along these lines and flatly voted to eject him from his chairmanship position. But neither Powell nor the Democratic leadership had tasted its last defeat.

POWELL

• The next day, when Congress officially opened, Democratic leaders began working feverishly to prevent any move by the Republicans to deprive Powell of his seat in Congress. Having been relieved of his education and labor post, Powell, it was argued, should now be permitted to retain his seat, at least until after a special committee probe of his affairs.

The temptation to compromise on Powell was large, particularly in view of the number of Negro leaders who had rallied to Powell's cause and the fact that a large, predominantly Negro group had jammed the Capitol steps to warn—and threaten—lawmakers of the political consequences if they should unseat the Harlem lawmaker.

On behalf of the Democratic leadership, Rep. Morris K. Udall (Ariz.) offered his resolution to seat Powell. Rep. Carl Albert (Okla.), the Democratic majority leader, backed up Udall. But the House was in no mood to follow.

The Udall motion was repudiated 305 to 126, with all 186 Republicans who voted lining up against it. The House then overwhelmingly adopted a GOP motion by Rep. Gerald Ford (Mich.) to suspend Powell from Congress until after special investigation of the Harlem lawmaker had been completed.

• Rocked twice, the liberal Democratic leadership was to be buffeted yet a third time. Immediately following Powell's ejection, the Democrats pressed for retention of the 21-day rule which gives the Speaker discretionary authority to call up a bill that has been stymied in the Rules Committee for 21 days. Two years ago the House had adopted this measure on a 224-to-201 vote. With the Rules Committee headed by Rep. William Colmer (D.-Miss.), a man every bit as conservative as his predecessor, Judge Howard Smith (Va.), the liberal Democrats felt the regulation was still necessary. Yet when Rep. H. Allen Smith (Calif.), ranking Republican on the Rules Committee, introduced his motion for repeal, 232 lawmakers sided with Smith with only 185 against.

COLMER

Following are the 26 Republicans in the House who voted with the liberal Democrats against the successful GOP-led move to rescind the 21-day rule (see lead story):

Ayres (Ohio), Biester (Pa.), Button (N.Y.), Conte (Mass.), Corbett (Pa.), Dwyer (N.J.), Esch (Mich.), Fino (N.Y.), Fulton (Pa.), Gude (Md.), Halpern (N.Y.), Heckler (Mass.), Horton (N.Y.), Kupferman (N.Y.), McDade (Pa.), Mathias (Md.), Morse (Mass.), Mosher (Ohio), O'Konski (Wis.), Reid (N.Y.), Ruppe (Mich.), Saylor (Pa.), Schweiker (Pa.), Stafford (Vt.), Taft (Ohio), and Whalen (Ohio).

Reps. Biester and McDade, both Pennsylvania Republicans, originally voted against the 21-day rule, but changed their votes.

And there were other areas which revealed that Lyndon Johnson has a balky Congress on hand. Over-all, the new members did not react warmly to his State of the Union message with its promises of higher taxes and bigger domestic spending (See story on their reaction below).

Even more indicative of the mood of conservatism was the change in the House Appropriations Committee. A major scene of "Great Society" battles, the committee has shifted toward a more conservative hue. Previously 34 to 16 in favor of the Democrats, it now lines up 30 Democrats to 21 Republicans. Democrats retain a paper majority, but their numbers include at least seven who can normally be expected to line up for domestic spending cuts.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

The next battle for LBJ and his forces might well be over whether or not to raise the national debt limit. Treasury Secretary Henry Fowler says a $3-billion hike is necessary if the government is to pay its bills in the next few months. Such requests usually bring forth only cut-and-dried debate with Congress eventually going along with the Administration. This time, however, Republicans hope to transform the routine squabble into a full-fledged attack on the Administration's spending plans. If they are successful in persuading enough disgruntled Democrats to join them, it will be a strong tip-off that Lyndon Johnson is in serious trouble in Congress this year.

LBJ's Message 'Thuds'

The new 90th Congress has been less than enthusiastic over LBJ's State of the Union message, which promised greater domestic spending and a tax hike on both individuals and corporations. (For the specifics of what LBJ proposed, see cover story.)

The first sign of trouble for LBJ's tax hike came from Russell B. Long (D.-La.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee and the Senate's assistant Democratic leader. "As for the tax increase," said Long, "I've recommended against that kind of thing for a long time."

Long said the first move on the tax proposal will be up to Chairman Wilbur Mills (D.-Ark.) of the House Ways and Means Committee, but Mills has also strongly indicated he's opposed.

Another top Democrat on the Finance Committee, Sen. Clinton P. Anderson (N.M.), was extremely dubious about raising taxes, particularly on individuals. Sen. Vance Hartke (D.-Ind.), also a member of the committee, termed a tax hike the "wrong thing."

Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.), a member of the tax-writing panel, said: "I'm not going to vote for a tax increase to support some of the 'Great Society' programs."

Sen. John J. Williams (Del.), the ranking Republican on the panel, also said he would oppose the tax hike. "I just can't endorse it when there are only going to be bigger spending budgets," said Williams.

GOP leaders Rep. Gerald Ford and Sen. Everett Dirksen were also sharply critical of the President's tax hike and his program in general. Ford said Johnson appeared to be proposing a "continued policy of guns and butter, rifles and ruffles" and criticized the President for failing to spell out how he would cut spending on domestic programs. Dirksen suggested that LBJ begin economizing in the space and highway programs before coming to the Congress for additional taxes.

Ford also attacked Johnson for failing to say how he would finance his proposed hike in Social Security benefits. All in all, it looked as if LBJ's program faced tough sledding.

Murphy Wins

In the opening days of Congress last week, Sen. George Murphy (Calif.) managed to capture the chairmanship of the Republican Senatorial Campaign Committee, defeating liberal challenger Hugh Scott (Pa.). Scott, who had made an early bid for the post, was so badly behind that he bowed out of the race before the actual vote.

MURPHY

As reported in the December 17 issue of *Human Events,* Sen. John Tower (R.-Tex.) paved the way for Murphy's rise to his new position when he threw his weight behind the conservatively oriented Californian.

Murphy's win is a big blow to the liberals who had been counting on a Scott victory.

The chairmanship guarantees its occupant audiences all over the country and a seat in the key strategy sessions held by party leaders. More important, the chairman has final authority over the hundreds of thousands of dollars dispensed to GOP senatorial candidates. In Barry Goldwater's hands, it even became a valuable vehicle for a build-up to a presidential nomination.

Reagan Gains Liberal Respect

Proof positive that Gov. Ronald Reagan's star is rising in the Republican party and that Gov. George Romney's may be waning has been a provocative report on the recent Republican governors' conference in *The Ripon Forum.*

Published by the Ripon Society (Cambridge, Mass.) and rapidly becoming the house organ for GOP liberals, the *Forum,* while obviously not happy about it, felt compelled to stress that Reagan made a sensational hit at the Colorado gathering.

The *Forum* refers to "Reagan's coup at Colorado Springs" and says he commanded wide respect from members of the press. "A superb press conference," the *Forum* quotes one top reporter as saying in reference to a Reagan news meeting. "The review was nearly unanimous," the *Forum* continues; "Ronald Reagan in any capacity would be a force to reckon with at the 1968 Republican National Convention. Would he be the candidate of the conservative wing? Some thought that he would be, inevitably."

Equally as fascinating was the *Forum's* review of Gov. Romney. "A certain indirection can be expected in any candidate for the presidency, but some of Romney's backers, notably Gov. William Scranton of Pennsylvania, were concerned with the crawling start of the Romney campaign.

"Once again the press corps found Romney unprepared and wanting in substance. Before his cam-

Gov. Ronald Reagan, shown here delivering his inaugural address, has made a favorable impression even among some GOP liberals.

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paign had officially begun, he was losing key reporters and columnists. The level of press criticism was sure to escalate. Romney himself may have unwittingly invited future confrontations by announcing that he was not going to take a position on Viet Nam until he had studied the problems and prepared 'specific proposals' for dealing with the 'fateful, far-reaching complex character of that conflict' . . . .

" . . . Romney's backers were slowly putting together a national staff. But it still lacked depth and breadth, and some early appointments had come as genuine surprises to the governor's well wishers.

"More important, Romney support was 'cooling' . . . . The overriding tone of the Colorado Springs meeting was one of 'reserve' and of 'wariness' toward early support for Romney. . . ."

Such is the estimation of two leading Republican figures by a leading liberal Republican periodical.

• The *Forum* also indicated displeasure with other conservative gains at the conference. One would have expected the liberal governors to have consolidated their control over the party, moaned the Riponers, but instead, "in an inexplicable move, they yielded control of the important five-man executive committee to three governors (including two freshmen) prominently identified with Goldwater in 1964." One of these conservatives was Ronald Reagan.

Javits on Red China

Marvin Liebman, who runs the Committee of One Million Against the Admission of Red China to the United Nations, has made an interesting observation on the withdrawal of Sen. Jacob Javits (R.-N.Y.) from his group.

"Insofar as Sen. Javits' 'withdrawal' is concerned," he wrote in a letter addressed to the Los Angeles *Times*, "Sen. Javits joined the Committee of One Million in 1954 when he was a congressman from New York City.

"Since that time, he has severed his connections with the committee no less than four times—after an election campaign—and rejoined the committee three times—during an election campaign.

"Thus, the senator was able to assume the position of the great majority of his constituents during an election and to satisfy the pressures of the minority of his liberal supporters in between elections."

For more on Sen. Javits, see page 6 for an exclusive article by Willard Edwards.

Baker & ITT

Just prior to Bobby Baker's trial here in Washington last week, Sen. Wayne Morse (D.-Ore.) cast some new light on the amazing activities of the former aide to Lyndon Johnson.

Morse made public an affidavit from a former executive of the International Telephone and Telegraph Co., detailing what the ex-executive has called a forced contribution of $1,200 to Bobby Baker and the Johnson-for-Vice-President campaign in 1960. The Oregon lawmaker has publicized this charge because of his opposition to a proposed merger of ITT and the American Broadcasting Co.

The sworn statement comes from J. T. Naylor, former vice president and chief executive of telecommunications operations, and was given to the Senate Rules Committee during its inquiry into the Baker scandal. Naylor's charges were published during the Senate investigation, but the verbatim text of his affidavit, revealing his irate protests about being forced to contribute to "Texas rats," was not disclosed until Morse handed it out to newsmen.

Naylor swore he was first called on Oct. 13, 1960, to the office of William T. Marx, former senior vice president of ITT, and told of "a program for political protection and business development."

"You are down for $1,200" he said he was told. "This can be financed for you by the company if necessary. You will be expected to recover the amount by covering it up in your traveling expense account."

On Oct. 18, Naylor said, he was again called to Marx's office and was informed: "We are taking the election contributions. Please bring up your check books." On arrival, said Naylor, he was introduced to a "Mr. Baker" and shook hands with him. Marx left, leaving him with a Mr. Mitchell and Baker. The affidavit continued:

"Mitchell [reading from a list on his desk]: 'Jack, they have put you down for $1,200. Please make out your check in favor of the Texas Business and Professional Men's Committee for Johnson for Vice President. Be sure, Jack, to put your home address on the check' . . . ."

When Naylor began asking questions, Marx, according to Naylor, came back into the room and

Former Senate aide Bobby Baker leaves U.S. District Court in Washington, D.C., after the opening of his trial on several counts of tax evasion, larceny and conspiracy.

Mitchell and Baker left. Naylor then asked Marx why he had to contributed "to these Texas rats and who is Baker?"

Marx, said Naylor, responded: "Jack, I'm sorry. I should have explained all this to you and I thought I did. Baker is Johnson's man and the Washington representative of the Johnson committee. We can juggle the list if you insist, but you are in town and Baker is collecting today. Of course, if there were an investigation you would testify that this was all voluntary and simply a personal payment made from your home."

Naylor said he wrote out the check and handed it to Baker. Describing his reactions, Naylor noted in the affidavit: "Baker a perfumed bird. Unwholesome."

The check, he told the Senate committee, was not cashed in Austin, Tex., until Nov. 10, 1964, 21 days after it was dated and two days after the presidential election.

Naylor resigned from the company the following March, he said, after denouncing the management and calling the $1,200 contribution "extortion . . . to your little friend Baker."

• While a number of fair-minded lawmakers are for the ITT-ABC merger, many would like not only to see a probe of the Naylor incident but to look into reports that seven officials expected to serve in the newly merged corporation are on the roster of the President's Club as contributors of at least $1,000.

'Where There's Life....'

New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has not yet abandoned his White House dreams, Albany insiders report. Sworn in earlier this month for a third term, Rocky delivered a State of the State address that consisted largely of an attack on LBJ's administration of the "Great Society."

ROCKEFELLER

New York Sen. Jacob Javits was thought to be speaking for Rockefeller last week when he said that, if Geroge Romney's presidential drive falters, Rocky may well seek the Republican nomination once again.

Rockefeller caught his latest case of presidential fever during his successful gubernatorial campaign last fall. It was, reports the *National Observer* in a recent analysis, not only the most expensive ($5 million plus) but "perhaps the most ruthless" campaign in U.S. history.

The publication reported that Rockefeller spent more than five times as much money as Democrat Frank O'Connor on a saturation television campaign that was sheer distortion.

One frequently used TV spot charged that O'Connor had led the fight against the New York State Thruway. Actually, O'Connor as a state legislator had not opposed the Thruway. He had opposed *tolls* on the Thruway. "That refinement," noted the *Observer*, "naturally enough, never was explained [by the Rockefeller forces]."

Rockefeller and Co. distributed 27 million buttons, posters and leaflets—about four and a half items for every person who turned out to vote. The advertising campaign was directed by Jack Tinker and Partners, a high-priced ad agency that has a Madison Avenue reputation for "restoring the public image" of such items as Alka-Seltzer.

Goldwater on Salisbury

Speaking in Thailand, former Sen. Barry M. Goldwater was sharply critical of the New York *Times'* Harrison Salisbury's recent dispatches from Hanoi which suggested the United States was purposely bombing civilians rather than military targets in North Viet Nam.

"It's a rather sad commentary on the state of the press in the United States," said Goldwater, "when the most influential of it . . . . becomes the mouthpiece of Communist propaganda.

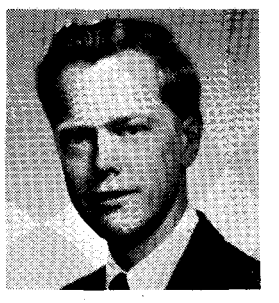
"I think the American people are genuinely shocked and surprised," Goldwater continued, "when any paper in the United States voices objections to our helping maintain freedom."

Goldwater also reiterated he is not a candidate for the 1968 presidential election. He added: "I'm backing Dick Nixon. As long as Dick remains a candidate, I'm going to stay with him."

• Not played up by the press has been some of Salisbury's remarks made since he left Hanoi. Contrary to the constant liberal assertion that our bombing is not hurting the North Vietnamese, Salisbury admits: "I think that we have hurt the North Vietnamese by bombing. . . we have made it much harder for them to conduct the war and we have made them suffer."

New YR Prexy?

Insiders are predicting that the conservative faction will retain control of the Young Republican National Federation when the YRs hold their elections in Omaha sometime in late June. Best bet to win the presidency: Jack McDonald, a member of the GOP state executive committee in Tennessee and currently treasurer of the national YRs. His most likely opponent: Jim Betts, former state chairman of the Ohio YRs and the candidate actively supported by Sen. Hugh Scott (R.-Pa.) and the liberal crowd in general.



McDONALD

A first cousin of Rep. William Brock (R.-Tenn.), McDonald is president of McDonald Enterprises, Inc., his own management and financial consultant firm in Nashville.

An early Goldwater supporter, he attended the now famous 1963 Chicago meeting which launched Goldwater's campaign; later he became the first Goldwater delegate from Tennessee to the 1964 Republican National Convention.

McDonald says he learned a little bit about the dangers of big government from his father, a Scotsman who had been in the building industry until the Socialists in England nationalized the housing industry in 1946. The only way he could continue to work in his area, the government told him, was to get a job with the government.

Valuing freedom more and leaving worldly posessions behind (the government didn't let anyone take much money out of the country), his father brought his family to the United States where he made a success in prefabricated housing.

Young Jack shares his father's faith in the free enterprise system and thinks the Republican party has a job to do in selling this philosophy.

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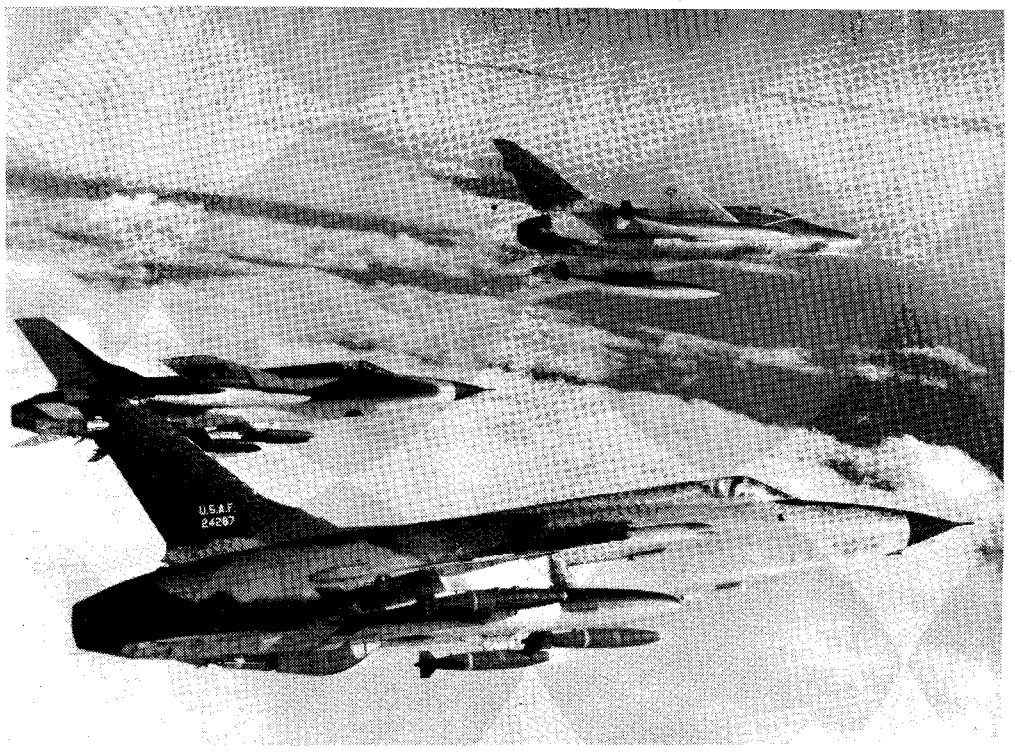

U.S. planes on a mission over North Viet Nam. So severe has the pilot shortage become because of the war that Defense Secretary Robert McNamara is allowing older pilots back into active flying status.

Secretary Was Warned

Severe Pilot Shortage: Another McNamara Blunder

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Tokyo:—In this nation once defeated by U.S. airpower I have to read stateside headlines saying that the United States faces such a bad pilot shortage that the Senate Preparedness subcommittee is going to investigate.

Distance, however, does not make it difficult to place the blame squarely where it belongs—right on the head of Robert Strange McNamara, our bumbling, fumbling and, in this instance, lying secretary of nondefense.

The lying involves Secretary McNamara's repeated assurances to congressional committees that his plans would meet our pilot requirements. He knew when he testified, unless he can actually claim to never even hear or see any military comments, that this nation has faced a pilot shortage since 1961—and this without a major war in Viet Nam.

In that same year, both as a senator and as an Air Force reservist, I privately brought to the attention of the chairman of the Preparedness subcommittee the full, documented forecast of a serious pilot shortage by 1966-67. The Air Force on at least two occasions made full presentations regarding the pilot plight.

Right in the face of all the facts Secretary McNamara glibly jammed his own supercilious and superficial substitute for the truth—his blackboards, charts and double-entry bookkeeping. He assured the Congress that there would be no pilot shortage, that he could sell off training bases, cut the training program to a dribble and still meet our needs.

He went so far as to take hundreds of men off flying status—assuring that they would lose the skills that had taken so long to develop—and yet they continued to draw flight pay, like farmers being paid not to grow crops.

He went ahead with the sale of bases, the shrinking of training programs and all the time boasting that he was saving money. He was also ignoring the evident possibility that he was buying those so-called savings with the future security of the United States.

The warnings and flat predictions of a pilot shortage that he suppressed in and by his testimony were based on normal conditions. The advent of large-scale war in Viet Nam made those predictions many times worse. But McNamara did not move. He continued to mislead the nation with his bland assurances that everything was all right.

But things were terrible. The new training programs were geared to fill vacancies as they came along under normal circumstances. There was no cushion and no depth of talent to reflect the fact that although it takes two years to train a tactical pilot it takes from five to 10 years to develop a flight commander.

When the need for pilots grew with the increase in Viet Nam fighting, the only solution was to transfer men from European and domestic assignments. There was no reserve. It was immediately apparent that the Tactical Air Command could not fulfill new missions elsewhere if trouble broke out because of the drain in Viet Nam.

In Viet Nam, combat pilots whose age and missions ordinarily would dictate replacement were the only men available to fly—and fly on. In one desperate effort to cover up his deepening mistake, McNamara permitted the lifting of the 45-22 rule, by which pilots who either reach their 45th birthday or their 22nd year of flying are taken off flying status.

Every few days, as in the latest instance, there is new evidence of McNamara's downright incompetence and his disregard for truth. The President will not move against him. Only the Congress can. I pray it will—for the sake of all of us and our future.

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☐ ☐ ☐

LAST-MINUTE NEPOTISM—Rep. Charles Diggs (D.-Mich.) made November "family month" on his congressional payroll. Diggs used federal funds to pay his wife $1,207.52 for the month and $500 to his 16-year-old daughter, Denise. Rep. George Senner (D.-Ariz.), defeated for re-election in November, promptly put his wife on the public payroll at $773.64 a month for the last two months of his term.

Watch Out for These Administration Moves in the 90th Congress:

- More trade with the enemy
- Tax increase
- Stiffer education "guidelines"
- Demonstration Cities program
- Rent Supplements
- Teacher Corps

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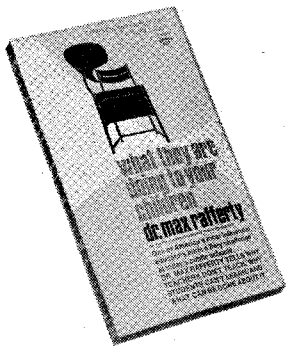

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For Veep: Would You Believe Jacob Javits?

New York's senior senator has declared he is 'entitled to national consideration' by the GOP, but his political record might dictate otherwise

By WILLARD EDWARDS

Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller was understandably in an ebullient mood. He had just expressed his "great sense of humility and deep sense of satisfaction" that the voters of New York state on November 8 had returned him to office for a third term. Now, he turned to share his happiness with a companion in arms.

"I am glad to have standing beside me New York's favorite son, Jack Javits, who is coming to an increasing position of leadership," Rockefeller declaimed.

Jacob Koppel Javits, New York's senior senator, beamed. The accolade of "favorite son" had not been bestowed lightly. It was Rockefeller's public and formal acknowledgement of an arrangement negotiated six months earlier under which Javits had removed himself as a challenger in the race for governor. In return, Rockefeller renounced any bid for the presidency in 1968, thus removing an impediment to Javits' ambitions in the presidential campaign year.

The 62-year-old Javits had no reason, in that post-election appearance with Rockefeller, to doubt that the road was clear to a goal toward which he had strained for years—a bid for second place on the Republican presidential ticket. With New York's big delegation supporting him at the GOP convention in 1968, who was to say that this modest aim might not be realized?

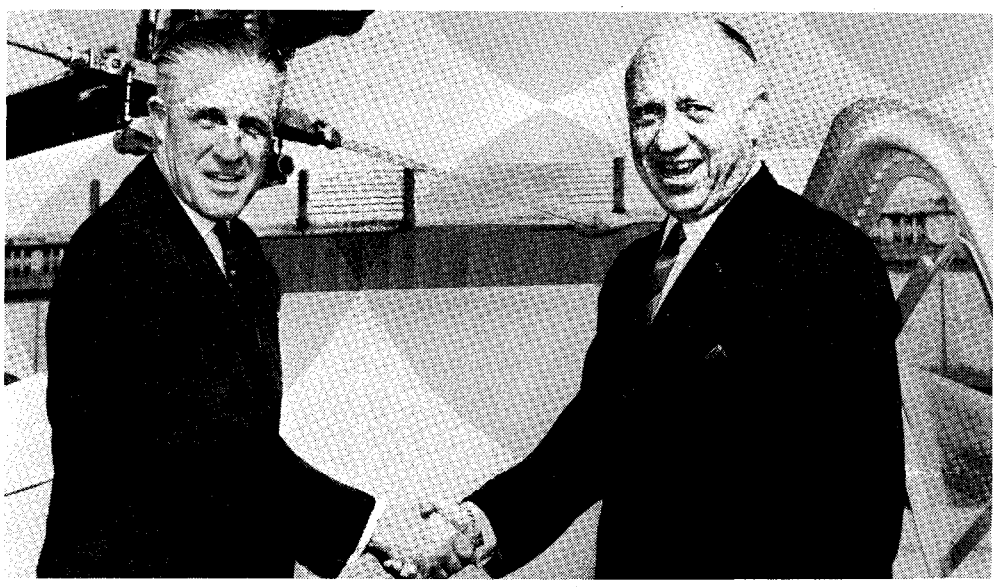
No reporter at that press conference in Rockefeller's New York office thought to ask Javits about his own election contest. He had been one of 42 candidates who offered themselves to the voters as delegates-at-large to the state constitutional convention. Many politicians and civic leaders regarded the choice of delegates to this convention as the most important task facing the voters. What the delegates decide, when they meet in Albany in April 1967, could determine the political control, the organization and the general course of the state government for decades.

With 15 delegates-at-large to be elected it was anticipated that Javits, with Republican and Liberal party backing, would be one of the easy winners and might even lead the ticket. His vote-pulling accomplishments in past elections had been awesome.

No hint of a possible Javits failure had even been whispered when Rockefeller dubbed the senator the state's Favorite Son. The New York *Times,* in its first account of the early returns, noted that Javits was one of the apparent winners.

In succeeding days, as the vote-counting proceeded, a trace of uneasiness appeared. Javits, incredibly, was trailing. But there was wide confusion in the vote tallies, the *Times* noted comfortingly, and the results did not include write-ins or ticket-splitting. Few observers believed that Javits, the highest office-holder on the slate and one of the biggest "names"—if not the biggest—could possibly run behind 15 others, some of them fairly obscure.

Not for 37 days—until release of the official tally on December 15—was the incredible reported: Javits had done just that. Not only had he been outpolled by 13 Democrat-Liberals but by two Republicans who carried the indorsement of the youthful Conservative party. They were William E. Bensley, president of the New York state Farm Bureau Federation, and Frank C. Moore, a former lieutenant governor and controller. Each received approximately 2,568,000 votes.



Sen. Javits, at right, met recently with Michigan Gov. George Romney in New York. Javits has made no secret of his national ambitions, but in the November elections he couldn't even get elected to a constitutional convention in Albany.

Javits failed by 14,000 votes to join the 15 victors. He didn't even make 16th place. J. Lee Rankin, city corporation counsel, another Republican given the Liberal party indorsement, fared even worse. Another GOP loser, running without benefit of either Liberal or Conservative party backing, was Judge Kenneth B. Keating of the Associate Court of Appeals, a former senator.

There could be no doubt that Javits, Rankin and Keating had lost because of Conservative party opposition. Both Javits and Keating had spurned Sen. Barry Goldwater, the GOP presidential candidate in 1964.

The major news revealed in the official tally, of course, was the emergence of the four-year-old Conservative party as the third-ranking party organization in New York state. It would displace the 22-year-old Liberal party on Line C of future ballots.

Party's 'Ideologist'?

On election night Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr., the Liberal candidate for governor, had been listed as a leader over Dr. Paul L. Adams, the virtually unknown Conservative candidate, by some 11,000 votes.

But the final canvass showed 510,023 votes for Dr. Adams and 507,234 for Roosevelt. To the consternation of political experts, the Conservatives outpolled the Liberals in New York City by 16,000 votes while trailing them by about 13,000 votes upstate. They had almost quadrupled the vote of 141,000 garnered in their first venture four years earlier.

This stunner overshadowed the Javits-Keating-Rankin defeat and the significance of the latter incident received scant attention in the public prints. Javits, in particular, had reason to hope it would quickly be forgotten. It was not an auspicious first step for a Favorite Son. This honorary appellation is traditionally reserved for a state leader whose prestige and popularity is so overwhelming that a convention delegation can support him unanimously for the presidential nomination while it looks over the field, alert to jump on the bandwagon with the eventual winner and perhaps make a deal for the Favorite Son.

On December 11, just four days before the bad news was published, Javits had proclaimed himself worthy of the honor. He described himself as the Republican party's "ideologist" for 20 years and "entitled to national consideration" as a vice presidential candidate, at the very least, in 1968. He did not rule himself out as a possibility for the No. 1 spot.

Now, the self-described ideologist of the Republican party, in his climb to the political heights, faced, in addition to the customary perils of such an ascent, the initial obstacle of at least a half-million voters in his home state who not only denied him the right to seek national party honors but questioned his legitimacy as a Republican.

This was made clear by J. Daniel Mahoney, Conservative state chairman, who has a gift for the felicitous phrase, in his comment on Javits' interest in the vice presidential nomination.

"Senator Javits," Mahoney remarked, "deserves credit for injecting some comic relief into the political situation, but there remains the tormenting possibility that his modest proposals are intended for serious consideration.

"It would be tiresome to catalogue Senator Javits' public positions and associations over the years which, taken cumulatively, completely disqualify him for consideration for any Republican national ticket.

"It is perfectly clear that the 1968 Republican National Convention will nominate candidates who fit within the broad mainstream of Republican thinking. However elastically that mainstream is defined, Senator Javits ends up stranded on its left bank."

For two decades politicians have been asking why, in view of Javits' voting record, he ever chose to call himself a Republican in the first place and, in the second, why he has not long ago switched parties and joined the Democratic left.

He has almost never demeaned himself by supporting Republican party doctrines. His votes have been consistently more liberal than those of most Democrats in Congress. In the 1966 session, according to a *Congressional Quarterly* survey, he supported the "Great Society" programs of President Johnson on 75 per cent of the rollcalls when the issue was clear. Sixty Senate Democrats failed to score as high in this test of loyalty to LBJ.

President Johnson may, in fact, have reason to reproach Javits for this record. Over the years, as a member of the House and Senate, Javits gave other Democratic Presidents an even higher average of support—approximately 85 per cent. He found the Eisenhower Administration's "progressive programs" less palatable but approved them 70 per cent of the time. On a number of occasions, Americans for Democratic Action found Javits 100 per cent in accord with its Socialist doctrines.

Subverting the GOP

Not even Sen. Wayne Morse of Oregon is higher in the esteem of the Democratic left and Morse took the logical step many years ago of shedding his Republican label and joining the band of liberal senators who vote as Democrats.

Javits' refusal to take this honest course should perplex no one. He feels quite simply that he has a mission to "modernize" the Republican party until it leaves the Democratic party behind in seeking federal cures for national problems.

This is the key to national victory, he argues in a 328-page book entitled *Order of Battle—A Republican's Call to Reason,* published in 1964. It was his answer to Barry Goldwater's *Conscience of a Conservative* and the yawning gap between the right and left in the wings of the Republican party was revealed as unbridgeable.

Javits scoffed at the suggestion that voters should be given a "choice" by "drawing a line between Republicans and Democrats." To those who saw no difference between his brand of Republicanism and the Democratic left, he wrote that he was not alarmed by charges of "me-tooism."

If Republicans wanted to regain control of the government, he said, they must take over the leadership of "an activist program, adjusted to the realities of a society that is now urbanized, industrialized, automated and internationalized." They must discard such discredited economic theories as those which attach virtue to the continually balanced budget and evil to deficit spending. Republicans must seize upon the most "progressive" theories of the Democrats and improve upon them.

Javits essayed a measure of candor in this work. He was not attracted to the Republican party by its doctrines, he wrote, but by a feeling that, by working within its framework, he could cope with conservatives and "help keep open a two-way communications line between the Republican party as a whole and liberal members of the Democratic party." It may have occurred to more than one reader that this was a complicated way of describing a decision to infiltrate and subvert the party.

The book ignores an episode in his life which was explored at some length by the Senate Internal Security subcom-

Willard Edwards has been a Washington correspondent for the Chicago Tribune *for over 30 years. Through the years he has contributed many articles on political personalities to* Human Events.

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mittee at a hearing Sept. 5, 1956. It subjected Javits to the indignity of swearing that he could not recall enlisting the support of Communists when he first considered running for office in 1946.

If he becomes an aspirant for national office, Javits must expect an exhaustive examination of every facet of his career, including this one.

The incident did him no harm in the curious political atmosphere of New York; it assured, in fact, his first nomination to the Senate. Voters in the other 49 states may be more curious about his testimony on that occasion which contained, in the words of Acting Chairman William E. Jenner (R.-Ind.) and subcommittee counsel Robert Morris, a number of "inconsistencies." This is legal verbiage for contradictions of testimony between sworn witnesses.

The official transcript of this hearing, labeled Part 43 of the subcommittee's "Scope of Soviet Activity in the United States" hearings, remains a unique document. It contained no subcommittee conclusions. It neither exonerated nor criticized Javits.

Jenner and Morris had scheduled further hearings, but they were called off by Chairman James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.). Javits had almost immediately been given the GOP senatorial nomination. His Democratic opponent, Mayor Robert Wagner, pleaded with the Democratic-controlled subcommittee to avoid pinning a martyr label on Javits.

"Any more hearings on that issue will murder me," Wagner told his Democratic friends on the subcommittee. The "inconsistencies" remained unexplored. It did Wagner no good. With the help of the Eisenhower landslide in 1956, Javits defeated Wagner by 458,000 votes. Ike shattered all records by sweeping the state with a majority of 1.6 million votes.

The Senate inquiry shed some light on Javits' decision to run for office as a candidate for Congress in 1946. He was 42 at the time, a bachelor just retired from military service where he wound up as a lieutenant colonel in the chemical warfare division. He was in no mood to return to the practice of law which he had begun in 1927 after earning his law degree at New York University.

"It seemed to me in 1946," he wrote in his book, "that I could, as a political progressive, best serve the politics of my country if I bound myself to the Republican party than if I remained a political neutral or switched over to the Democratic party."

He was induced to this view, he conceded, by encouragement from Alex Rose, president of the Millinery and Hatmakers Union, whom he described as "ideologist of the Liberal party." Rose enlisted the support of David Dubinsky, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. Another helper was Morris Shapiro, Liberal party leader.

If a lack of Republican sponsors is notable in this recitation, there was good reason for it. The decision was for Javits to file in the 21st Congressional District, comprising Morningside Heights, Washington Heights, Inwood and upper Manhattan Island. No Republican had been elected in this district for 23 years. The Democratic registration was 2 to 1. But the Democrats, grown complacent through repeated victories, had indulged themselves in a party fight and were ripe for attack by a Republican-Liberal candidate.

Another power in the district was the American Labor party. It was Communist - controlled. Rose and other Liberal party leaders had just broken with it and were eager for revenge. Javits was to insist to the subcommittee that he was ignorant of these complications.

This self-portrayal as a political novice failed to convince some members of the subcommittee.

Javits, by his own account, had been active in New York politics in 1937 and 1941 as an active campaigner for Fiorello H. La Guardia, the Republican-fusion candidate for mayor. In 1940 he joined the committee supporting a third term for Franklin D. Roosevelt led by La Guardia and Sen. George Norris of Nebraska. In 1945 he had been research director for the New York mayoralty campaign of Judge Jonah Goldstein, Republican Liberal-fusion candidate. Goldstein was an independent Democrat. New York politics is like that.

Conflicting Testimony

When Javits appeared before the subcommittee, first in closed session and then in public, he was confronted with the testimony, given three months earlier in executive session, of Dr. Bella V. Dodd, a member of the National Committee of the Communist party in charge of New York state election activities in 1946. She was expelled from the party in 1949.

In 1946, she told the subcommittee, she was informed by leaders of the Communist party that a recently discharged military officer named Jacob K. Javits would shortly be coming to her for advice. She was to treat him, her mentors instructed, as an individual in whose political future the Communist party was interested.

Javits did come to her office at 100 West 42nd Street, she testified, and they discussed the New York City district in which he should concentrate his political activities. They decided upon the 21st District where there was a Democratic split. Thereafter, she swore, the Communist party supported Javits in the 1946 campaign which resulted in sending Javits to the House of Representatives for the first of four terms.

Javits had previously been apprised of this testimony. At the public session he appeared unperturbed. He had indeed, he said, visited Dr. Dodd in May or June of 1946 at her office. "Friends" had given him a long list of people whom he should see, he testified, in order to "get educated" on political conditions in the city. He talked to Dr. Dodd as a director of operations of the Teachers' Union.

Javits swore that he was totally unaware of Dr. Dodd's open and unconcealed status as a Communist leader. He went to see her as one who could "educate" him about New York teachers. They talked only 10 to 15 minutes and "we talked only about teachers."

Sen. Javits announced after the 1964 GOP convention that he would "withhold my support from the national Republican ticket." Since then he has insisted the GOP nominate a liberal, possibly himself, for the top spot on the 1968 ticket.

Javits' Party Loyalty Record

Remarking on Sen. Jacob Javits' liberalism, **Time** magazine once said that he "out-Democrats most Democrats." Solid documentation for this charge can be found in the recent analysis prepared by the non-partisan **Congressional Quarterly** of Senate support and opposition to President Johnson's legislative program for the 89th Congress:

- In 1966 Javits supported LBJ on 75 per cent of the 125 key rollcall votes in the President's over-all legislative program; Javits opposed the President on 15 per cent of the votes. Javits' support in this case was higher than any other GOP senator and was topped by only four Democrats;
- For the entire 89th Congress, Javits again gave the President 75 per cent support, with seven Democrats, no Republicans, having a higher percentage;
- For rollcall votes on domestic legislation in 1966, Javits gave 73 per cent support, 20 per cent opposition; only five Democrats gave a higher percentage of support;
- During the 89th Congress, Javits' support-rating for domestic legislation was also 73 per cent;
- In the field of foreign policy legislation for 1966, Javits contributed 79 per cent support to LBJ, only 4 per cent opposition; three other Republican senators had the same rate of support, but all had much higher percentages of opposition;
- For the entire 89th Congress, Javits backed the President 81 per cent of the time on foreign policy legislation, opposing him 7 per cent of the time; one GOP member had a higher rate of support;
- In every instance of support mentioned above, Javits' percentage was higher than that of his liberal Democratic fellow-senator from New York, Robert F. Kennedy.

Javits' aversion to voting with the vast majority of his fellow Republican senators can also be seen by his recorded votes on crucial legislation in 1966:

- He was one of three Republican senators to oppose the Dirksen reapportionment amendment;
- One of two GOP senators to oppose a $4-billion cut in poverty war funds favored by President Johnson himself;
- One of only 12 Republicans to favor cloture in the 1966 Civil Rights bill debate;
- One of six Republicans to support the Administration's bill calling for higher jobless benefits compensation;
- One of eight Republicans who opposed a $20-million cut in rent supplement appropriations;
- One of two GOP members to support adding of $8 million to the rent supplement program, on an amendment that Javits himself introduced.

Counsel Morris could not conceal his astonishment. He placed in the record at this point copies of the New York *Times* in 1945 and 1946 which referred to Communist party conventions and quoted Dr. Dodd as a member of the National Committee of the party.

"You did not know that Dr. Dodd was then an open and notorious member of the National Committee of the Communist party?" Morris asked Javits.

The answer was indirect.

"It is inconceivable that I would have called, for any reason, on a person who was an open and avowed Communist," Javits replied. He explained that he may have been "in a muddle" about Communist control of the American Labor party at the time.

"I was new on the job, in a sense," he remarked. I had no doubts about the ALP thereafter."

He recalled that "some friends of mine" were urging him to get the ALP indorsement for Congress. When he told Rose about this, Rose responded:

"Don't you know, Jack, that this ALP crowd, we have just broken off from, and they are Commie dominated?"

Javits' response to Rose, he told the subcommittee, was: "I want no part of them. I would rather lose the election. I will not go for any deals like that."

Morris persisted. Had not Javits, two years later in 1948 when he was running for a second congressional term, told Murray Baron, vice chairman of the Liberal party, that he had had word from Lewis Merrill, a Communist labor union leader, that assistance was available in the campaign? Baron had so testified, Morris informed Javits.

"I wouldn't challenge Murray Baron because I have the highest regard for him," said Javits. "I have no such recollection. They [the ALP] did their utmost to knock me off in 1946 and 1948."

"I have no such recollection, Judge. It seems to me to be absolutely inconsistent with everything I was doing at the time."

The subcommittee explored Javits' activities in 1945 soon after he was discharged from the Army. He became interested, he said, in the United Nations drafting conference in San Francisco in the spring of 1945 and went there as an observer.

He denied, with indignation, that he had made the train trip to the West Coast in company with Frederick V. Field, a wealthy supporter of Communist causes, who reported the conference as United Nations editor of the New York *Daily Worker,* official Communist publication.

Strange Contacts

He encountered Field on a San Francisco Bay ferry boat, he testified, recalling him as "a college boy type covering the conference for a newspaper." They exchanged only "pleasantries." Morris, apparently reading from a report, asked if Javits had not made several additional trips on the ferry boat with Field. Javits flatly denied it.

Javits was asked about other contacts he made in San Francisco, particularly a meeting with Mrs. Louise Bransten (now Berman), an heiress whose home there, according to a Federal Bureau of Investigation report, was a gathering place for Communists, Communist sympathizers and Soviet officials.

Javits said a friend had urged him to meet Mrs. Bransten as a wealthy

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Continued from page 7

Jacob Javits for Veep?

and attractive young woman, unattached at the moment, who might be in the market for a husband. They met for cocktails at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, he said, but he didn't like her and she didn't like him.

Did he not recall, Morris asked, a meeting in Mrs. Bransten's home in which he had a long conversation with Dr. Max Yergan, at that time director of the Council on African Affairs, a Communist-controlled organization? Yergan, who since broke completely with the Communists, had so testified. Had he not also met, in the Bransten home, David Hedley and Nancy Pittman, both identified as Communists?

Javits said he knew Yergan and may have had a "parlor discussion" with him at one time but could not recall that it was in Mrs. Bransten's home.

"I cannot tell you that I did or did not go to her home," he informed Morris. "I would not say 'no' and I would not say 'yes,' because I cannot recollect."

The hearing ended on this inconclusive note with Morris noting that clarification of the "inconsistencies" would be pursued at future hearings.

Javits told the press he felt he had cleared up the allegations and expressed confidence he would be given the Republican nomination for the Senate when his name was presented to the New York state Republican committee the following Monday.

No False Modesty

This confidence was not misplaced. In that post-McCarthy period, allegations of this nature automatically provoked a hostile reaction. The New York *Times* summed up the situation neatly. Javits' decision to "counter-attack" had made it difficult for the state committee to turn him down. If the committee rejected him, "it will lay itself open to the charge that it has been intimidated by a smear attack."

On Monday the state committee unanimously picked Javits to run and in his acceptance speech he declared:

"There was apparently a great effort to stir up a storm about me out of bits and pieces of stories from 10 and 11 years ago, bits and pieces completely refuted by my life, my record and my beliefs.

"It is a tribute to our party that it stood fast by the proposition that it would not tolerate rumors, innuendoes, smears and political character assassination. . . . I am proud of our party."

In the ensuing campaign President Eisenhower, who confessed a little bias because Javits had been one of the first members of Congress to press him to run for the presidency, campaigned in New York for Javits. He said he "wants and needs Jack Javits in the United States Senate." As previously noted, Javits ran more than a million votes behind Eisenhower, but he had no similar help when he sought re-election in 1962, carrying the state by 983,000.

Add to this his victory over Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. for attorney general of New York in 1954, the only Republican on the state ticket to win, and Javits has impressive credentials to present in behalf of his case for the Republican "progressive."

"The hope of the Republican party in the future lies in the kind of Republicanism practiced in New York State," he proclaimed after his sweep in 1962. Even at that time, however, he sensed the peril to his personal fortunes of the newly born Conservative party. Its leaders, he trumpeted, were "pursuing a course of 'rule or ruin."

In 1956, then New York Attorney General Javits appeared before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee to clarify allegations that he had Communist party support.

"They are so far outside the spectrum of American public life," he raged, "that it is my duty and yours to prevent them from subverting or splitting the Republican party."

Four years later, as he contemplated his defeat in a comparatively minor contest by these scorned opponents, he had reason to regard himself as a prophet.

What manner of man is this restless politician who has fared so well in his home state and seeks to fasten his philosophy on a national party?

He is, first of all, keenly intelligent, quick-witted, articulate and hard-working. Physically, he lacks the "image" demanded for national candidates in the television age. He is of medium height, bald, and his pale blue eyes are somewhat protuberant. He grins readily. He is no orator but a good debater.

If the senator is not photogenic, his wife, Marion, is. Twenty years his junior, once a would-be actress, Mrs. Javits is a charmer who would make a pretty picture on the campaign trail. Presumably, if her husband was a candidate on a national ticket, she would renounce her interest in the theater and art which has kept her in New York City, scornful of political appearances and Washington society.

President Johnson is one of those who has succumbed to Mrs. Javits' feminine appeal. After watching her on a television show in February 1964, Johnson called Javits and staggered him with this statement:

"A lady as gracious and charming as that deserves to be the wife of a President herself."

There is no false modesty in Javits. He has not hesitated to refer publicly to his own "brilliant record" in the Senate and to describe himself as the "conscience" of that body.

He somewhat astounded his elders, when he was a freshman, by drafting a code of ethics for senatorial behavior. He was not abashed when the Senate decided to get along with the rules for dealing with senatorial misconduct which had sufficed at that time for 169 years.

There is a driving energy and an ambition in Javits which is seemingly insatiable. It has carried him to high office from a beginning in a lower East Side tenement. He does not hesitate to tilt with Senate leaders, particularly in his own party, and can boast of outmaneuvering Sen. Everett M. Dirksen, the GOP minority leader, to stifle a constitutional amendment on the legislative reapportionment issue.

More than any other man, Javits helped to kill this amendment and it is noteworthy that he began by professing to be in its favor.

The reason that Javits changed his views on the amendment was that he had accepted in 1965 the post of campaign manager for Rep. John V. Lindsay, Republican-Liberal candidate for mayor of New York. Minority pressure groups in New York City were violently opposed to the amendment. Javits confessed "a basic change" in his thinking about the apportionment issue and lined up sufficient votes in the Judiciary Committee to sidetrack the Dirksen amendment.

Lindsay's victory justified, in Javits' opinion, a sacrifice in principle. It gave him a platform and an organization upon which to base his aspirations for national honors.

On May 1, 1966, bowing out of the 1966 race for governor, he made it plain that he was doing so because Rockefeller had renounced any bid for the presidency in 1968. He flatly ruled out not only Rockefeller but Richard M. Nixon, a transplanted New Yorker, and called for "new faces" on the GOP presidential ticket.

"Mine would be a new face, a new and established face," he remarked. The answer was to a question addressed, not to his vice presidential ambitions, but to his availability for the presidency itself.

"It would be pretentious of me to make such a statement [of presidential ambitions]," he declared. "In the next two years, perhaps I will or won't qualify as a choice . . . . I can only say that I may rate it but I will not declare now."

On November 10, two days after the election when his defeat for delegate-at-large was unknown, he sized up other Republican hopefuls and found them wanting. Nixon was an old race-horse that had been on the track too long; he was trying to "please both conservatives and progressives in the party and I think the experience of 1964 shows you've got to fight it out."

'68 'Fusion' Ticket

"The one I'm looking at the hardest right now is Governor Romney," he explained, "but that's not a preference."

Gov. Ronald Reagan of California? Javits got a laugh from his audience by dismissing Reagan's election as due to "reasons unique to California."

His listeners recognized the testimony of an expert. Javits' own election successes were obviously due to conditions unique to New York.

On December 12 Javits was asked about a statement by then New York Deputy Mayor Robert Price that Rockefeller should still be considered a presidential possibility in 1968. Price is Lindsay's principal political adviser.

"I'm not a bit disturbed," Javits said. "The governor is a man of his word."

On December 17 Javits further cleared his path toward a "progressive" image by withdrawing from membership in the Committee of One Million, a group opposing United States recognition of Communist China. He informed the 49 other senators and 248 representatives who are members of the committee that the time had come to take a more "flexible" position on the issue. He had been influenced to this decision, it was reported, by expert testimony at hearings held in March 1966 by Sen. J. W. Fulbright (D.-Ark.) that Red China should no longer be "isolated."

If Javits does not gain his goal of nomination on the GOP national ticket, will he support the candidates who are selected? The senator made it clear that he would not rule out the "response to conscience" that forced him to repudiate Goldwater in 1964.

"However, I see no candidate the party is likely to nominate that will cause me any similar difficulty," he assured the press. "Therefore, I have every expectation of being able to support our nominee in 1968."

If there was an element of condescension in this statement, none could deny its candor. Having disbarred Rockefeller, Nixon, Reagan and any other candidate who might make the mistake of trying to please both conservatives and progressives, Javits was prepared to support a Romney-type aspirant with a clear conscience.

The party would be ruled in 1968 by the "kind of Republicanism practiced in New York State." The nation would presumably be faced with a "fusion" ticket, embracing Liberals, Progressives and Democratic leftists under a Republican banner. Its programs would be cold and cynical in their approach, based upon appeals to every voting bloc, cultivation of racial minorities and abandonment of the limited government principles traditionally associated with the Republican party.

Needless to say, there would be ruthless rejection of all GOP candidates who hesitated to endorse federal paternalism in every walk of life. They would be damned as "the radical right."

The system has worked for Jacob K. Javits. He is determined to try it out on a national scale. In setting his sights on the vice presidency he is not unaware that two of the last four Presidents entered the White House by that route. He also recognizes that three of the last four Presidents came from the Senate.

"The whole thing is up to me," he told an interviewer. "There's no reason why a senator can't exert a major influence on his party and his country if he has the time and the talent. After all, look at Kennedy and Johnson."

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(France)
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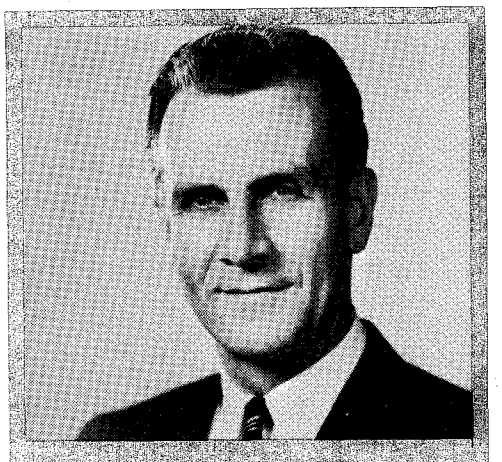

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CONGRESSMAN BILL BROCK
(Tennessee)
Serves on the Banking and Currency Committee, U.S. House of Representatives. Was Y.R. National Committeeman in 1961. Active in party affairs. Elected "Outstanding Young Man of the Year" Tennessee Jaycees, 1965. His re-election to 3rd term helped establish two-parties solidly in his state. Has made a National reputation, though only 36 years old.

JOE BAKER
(Maryland)
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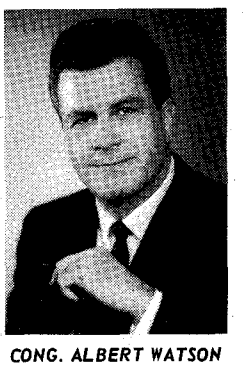
S. D. CADWALLADER
(Virginia)
Union member 26 years. Member of the Brotherhood of Railway Conductors and Brakemen—President, National Right to Work Committee. An articulate exponent of "voluntary unionism" with vast experience in organizational techniques.

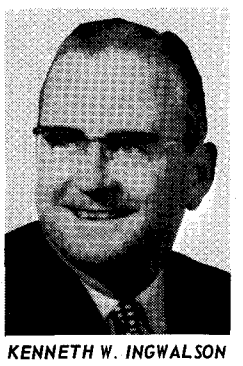
DAVID R. JONES
(West Virginia)
Executive Director, Young Americans for Freedom, and Executive Director, American Conservative Union. He is also publisher of The NEW GUARD. Teacher—leader—organizer. Holds many awards for civic service.

ROBERT E. KING
(California)
Vice-President, National Information Systems. Specialist in the use of Computers applied to the field of politics, marketing and intelligence. Rich background in the collection and analysis of information electronically.

RAY WATKINS
(Kentucky)
Executive Vice President, Associated Industries of Kentucky. Vice President, American Society of Association Executives. Former newspaper owner and editor, a salesman of ideas. Holds an M. A. in journalism. Active in dozens of service and civic organizations. Commanded submarine Chaser unit World War II.



CONG. ALBERT WATSON
(South Carolina)
Elected to 88th Congress as a Democrat. Re-elected to 89th Congress. Resigned February 1, 1965 after being stripped of seniority by the Democrats for supporting Barry Goldwater. Re-elected as a Republican, 1965, receiving over 69% of the votes. In 1966 he again won re-election with over 20,000 vote plurality, and helped establish a two-party state.



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Brent Bozell's New Book

How the 'Warren Revolution' Has Changed America

By SEN. SAM J. ERVIN JR. (D.-N.C.)

Much is being written about the Warren Court. Most of it is too laudatory to be truthful. A new book has appeared which is too truthful to be laudatory. It is L. Brent Bozell's *The Warren Revolution*, which has just been issued by Arlington House.

The Warren Revolution is the first volume of a projected two-volume work dealing with the Supreme Court under Earl Warren. Bozell's main thesis is that for more than a decade the Warren Court has been engaged in Constitution-making and Constitution-amending in violation of Article V, which vests the power to do these things solely in the Congress and the states in words so plain that no literate person can misunderstand their meaning. Bozell assures the reader that the second volume of the projected work will "ask whether the Warren Revolution is, on its merits, in the best interest of the American commonwealth and, if not, what weapons are available for the counter-revolution."

"The Warren Revolution"
By L. Brent Bozell
Published by Arlington House
$7.00

The author obviously accepts the sound conclusion that if we are to understand the institutions of today, we must know the events of yesterday which brought them into being. As a consequence, he prepared himself for the writing of this book by prodigious research in respect to the historical events which preceded, accompanied and followed the framing of the Constitution of the United States.

While he makes some inferences from these events which are strikingly original in nature, he sets forth the events themselves with such candor and clarity that the reader can evaluate the significance of the events himself and draw different inferences from them if he so chooses.

Bozell writes with complete forthrightness. Moreover, he expresses what he has to say in understandable and eloquent words.

For these reasons *The Warren Revolution* is an exceedingly readable, intriguing and illuminating book which will undoubtedly find an honored place on the bookshelves of those who still entertain the conviction that the American people are entitled to the government of laws which the Constitution was ordained to establish.

It certainly merits reading by those defenders of the Warren Court who assert that the court's deviations from plainly expressed constitutional principles prove that we have a "living Constitution." As Bozell notes, this question-begging assertion tends to prove exactly the contrary; i.e., that the Constitution is dead and that America is ruled by the personal notions of the judicial activists who sit on the Supreme Court bench.

The book will not commend itself to those who give the American people admonitions of this character:

"When the Supreme Court speaks, its decisions must be accepted as sacrosanct by the bench, the bar and the people of America even though they constitute encroachments on the constitutional domain of the President or the Congress, or tend to reduce the states to meaningless zeroes on the nation's map. Indeed, the bench, the bar and the people must do more than this. They must speak of the Supreme Court at all times with a reverence akin to that which inspired Moab to speak thus of Jehovah: 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust him.'"

Be this as it may, Bozell's writing of *The Warren Revolution* is warranted by Chief Justice Harlan F. Stone's assertion that "where the courts deal, as ours do, with great public questions, the only protection against unwise decisions, and even judicial usurpation, is careful scrutiny of their action and fearless comment upon it."

Let us put some things beyond cavil. The author does not question the good intentions of those Supreme Court justices who have been the architects of the Warren Revolution. Moreover, he expressly disclaims any present purpose to pass judgment on whether their deviations from the Constitution would be beneficial to the American people if they were possessed of the constitutional power to make them.

He only challenges most emphatically—and effectively—their constitutional power to make them.

He asserts, in substance, that the framers of the Constitution set forth in that instrument certain fixed principles of government; that they placed upon all judges and other public officials an oath-bound obligation to support those principles inviolate; and that they provided that those principles could not be changed either in phraseology or in meaning except by a constitutional amendment adopted by the Congress and the states in the manner set out in Article V of the Constitution.

He also asserts, in substance, that the framers of the Constitution did these things to put these fixed principles of government beyond the reach of impatient legislators, autocratic executive officials, activist judges, temporary majorities and the shifting winds of public opinion.

In saying these things, Bozell states a position in harmony with that of Daniel Webster, who made some penetrating observations concerning public officers who substitute their good intentions for rules of law. As Webster said:

"Good intentions will always be pleaded for every assumption of authority. It is hardly too strong to say that the Constitution was made to guard the people against the dangers of good intentions. There are men in all ages who mean to govern well, but they mean to govern. They promise to be good masters, but they mean to be masters."

Bozell maintains that since the Constitution was written and adopted to express their purposes, it inescapably follows that those who interpret it must give effect to the intention of those who framed and adopted it.

In holding to this view, he espouses a principle of constitutional construction which found virtually universal acceptance in the United States before the advent of the Warren Court, and which was best expressed by Chief Justice John Marshall when he declared that "the enlightened patriots who framed our Constitution and the people who adopted it must be understood . . . to have intended what they said."

The author further declares, in essence, that under Article III of the Constitution and the acts of Congress implementing it, the Supreme Court is a court rather than a supreme organ of government and has no power whatever except the judicial power, which it exercises as a court of original jurisdiction by constitutional authority in a limited number of specified cases, and which it exercises as a court of appellate jurisdiction by the grace of Congress in all other cases.

Sen. Ervin says the Supreme Court has a duty to ascertain the intention of the writers of the Constitution.

Inasmuch as the judicial power simply authorizes a court to decide and pronounce judgment and carry it into effect between parties who bring a case before it for a decision, Bozell maintains that the Supreme Court has no power under the Constitution to issue fiats binding upon the legislative or executive departments of the federal government, or the states, or individuals when they are not parties to cases it decides.

Moreover, he points out that when it has to interpret a constitutional provision to determine a case before it, the Supreme Court merely has the power to interpret such provision; i.e., to ascertain its meaning, and not the power to amend the provision; i.e., to change its meaning.

In this, Bozell's concept of a court coincides with that of Chief Justice Edward Douglass White, who, describing how a court should exercise its judicial power, said: "The fundamental conception of a judicial body is that of one hedged about by precedents which are binding on the court without regard to the personality of its members."

Bozell selects some samples out of a multitude of available cases to show that the Warren Court has taken a strange journey and reached a strange destination. These sample cases suffice to reveal that the Warren Court has been able to take its journey and reach its destination because its activist members have thrown into their judicial garbage pail the doctrine of *stare decisis* (the rule that judges stand by and follow the decisions of their own court) and the fundamental principle of constitutional construction that effect must be given to the intention of the framers and the adopters of a constitutional provision.

The rationale by which the Warren Court frees itself from the doctrine of *stare decisis* may be summarized as follows:

The Constitution must change to meet changing conditions. As its authorized interpreter, the Supreme Court has the power to make the Constitution conform to the views of the majority of its members. Since the doctrine of *stare decisis* might handicap the Supreme Court in making the Constitution conform to the views of a majority of its members, the Supreme Court is not bound by its own decisions on constitutional questions.

In thus liberating themselves from the doctrine of *stare decisis*, the activist justices not only confuse the power to interpret and the power to amend, but they simultaneously reach the paradoxical conclusion that the 190 million other Americans and all the other officers, both federal and state, whom they put in office, are nevertheless bound by Supreme Court decisions on constitutional questions.

One of the cases selected by Bozell to disclose how the Warren Court has repudiated the fundamental principle of constitutional construction is *Brown vs. Board of Education*, whose racial overtones have unfortunately obscured the havoc it wrought to constitutional government.

In the *Brown* case, Chief Justice Warren said: "In approaching this problem, we cannot turn the clock back to 1868 when the amendment was adopted or even to 1896 when *Plessy vs. Ferguson* was written." From a constitutional standpoint, this is an astounding statement.

The truth is that it was the duty of the court to turn the clock back to 1868 and ascertain and give effect to the intention of those who framed and ratified the 14th Amendment.

Had the Supreme Court performed this constitutional duty, it would have found and declared that the 14th Amendment not only did not require, but did not even countenance, the decision it rendered. This is so, notwithstanding the chief justice's assertion to the contrary, because nothing in our constitutional history is better authenticated than that those who framed and ratified the 14th Amendment did not intend that it should interfere in any way with the power of states to segregate pupils in their public schools on the basis of race.

Bozell selects the case of *Cooper vs. Aaron* to describe the destination to which the Warren Court has journeyed. In this case, the Supreme Court said:

"It follows that the interpretation of the 14th Amendment enunciated by this court in the *Brown* case is the supreme law of the land, and Article VI of the Constitution makes it of binding effect on the states, 'anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.'"

These words, which clearly reflect the position of the Warren Court in respect to its constitutional power, are wholly inconsistent with the Constitution in general and Article VI in particular.

Continued on page 12

Sen. Ervin, a graduate of the University of North Carolina and Harvard Law School, is one of the Senate's leading constitutional experts. A practicing attorney for almost 50 years, he served on the North Carolina Superior Court (1937-1943) and the North Carolina Supreme Court (1948-1954) prior to his entrance into the U.S. Senate, where he now sits on the Armed Services, Government Operations and Judiciary Committees.

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U.S. Planes Attacked by Red Chinese Destroyers But White House Forbids Pilots to Return Fire

From the Allen-Scott Report

U.S. planes are being fired on by Red Chinese warships in Haiphong Harbor.

Navy pilots returning from low-level bombing attacks on fuel storage tanks and other targets in the Haiphong area have reported they were fired on by Chinese destroyers operating in the waters of the main North Viet Nam port. More than a dozen such incidents have occurred. Although no U.S. planes have been lost as a result of these Red Chinese attacks, several aircraft have been damaged. In each instance, the pilots were able to bring their planes safely back to the aircraft carriers.

To date, these unannounced Chinese Communist attacks have been one-sided. Under ironclad White House orders, U.S. pilots have not returned the fire from the Communists' ships.

These restrictions prohibit attacks against vessels other than those flying the North Viet Nam flag.

Tracer fire photographed from a U.S. reconnaisance plane over North Viet Nam highlights the intensity of the air war over that country.

Several Navy pilots, after spotting Chinese flags on the attacking warships, radioed for permission to retaliate with rockets. These requests were turned down by the officer in the operational control plane.

He curtly ordered the pilots to "avoid further contact with Chicoms. Do not return fire. Orders are based on presidential directive."

The ship-to-air anti-aircraft fire from the Chinese warships took place while U.S. pilots were flying at low levels to escape ground-to-air SAM missiles. After making their bomb runs, the pilots would dive to altitudes of less than 3,000 feet to avoid the Russian missiles, which are ineffective at such heights.

Significantly, neither Washington nor Peking has said anything about these repeated incidents that have occurred over a period of several months.

Reason for the silence from usually voluble and truculent Peking is not known. Pentagon insiders attribute the Administration's failure to say anything to fear that disclosure would arouse powerful congressional demands for vigorous counter-action.

President Johnson is adamantly adhering to a policy of doing nothing that might lead to Red Chinese involvement in the Viet Nam conflict. As a consequence, he is carefully avoiding any measures aimed at retaliating against the Chinese warships.

Instead, intelligence authorities have been directed to ascertain the reason for these attacks.

The Chinese warships, consisting of three destroyers and some six ocean-going patrol vessels, have been operating in North Viet Nam waters for some time. The destroyers put in frequently in Haiphong Harbor. In recent weeks the Chinese warships have beeen observed escorting Polish freighters bringing supplies to Haiphong.

So far there have been no encounters between the Chinese ships and U.S. war vessels patrolling the Gulf of Tonkin. On some occasions the Chinese destroyers have appeared on the radar screens of the U.S. ships, but this has been their only "contact."

Peking's increased naval activity was the main reason for the Navy's recent decision to reinforce its combat strength in Viet Nam waters.

Task Force 1—made up of the Navy's three nuclear-powered warships—was shifted in December from the Mediterranean and Atlantic to the Tonkin Gulf.

This task force includes the 85,000-ton aircraft carrier *Enterprise*, the cruiser *Long Beach* and frigate *Bainbridge*. Navy officials say flatly these ships alone have the power to clear the Tonkin Gulf of all enemy vessels in a matter of days.

Should President Johnson decide to impose an arms quarantine of Viet Nam—as President Kennedy did against Cuba—Task Force 1 would constitute the nucleus of the enforcing armament. While the Navy has plans all set and ready for sealing off all Viet Nam ports, there has been no indication the President has any intention of taking this step.

There are no known Soviet warships in the Gulf of Tonkin, although the bulk of arms and other supplies to North Viet Nam are now being transported in Russian freighters.

On the average, eight to 10 Soviet ships are in Haiphong Harbor or its river entrance awaiting their turn to unload cargo.

U.S. naval vessels have detected the presence of several "unidentified" submarines in these waters. They are believed to be Russian nuclear-powered subs.

★ ★ ★

"These truces are bloody murder." That's the terse observation Brig. Gen. Oliver Jackson, Australian commander in Viet Nam, made to Gen. William Westmoreland after the Christmas and New Year's cease-fires. Jackson reported more than a dozen Viet Cong and North Viet Nam attacks on his 4,500-man force during the two truce periods. As of January 1, 65 Australians had been killed in the previous three months, four during the truce period.

★ ★ ★

Cuban diplomats in Mexico are putting out the word that "Che" Guevera, who mysteriously disappeared almost two years ago, will reappear in Havana at the Latin American Peoples Solidarity Conference, scheduled for late July. Communist leaders from all Western Hemisphere countries have been invited to this pow-wow.

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KUDOS FROM ACCUMEN FANS

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Truly outstanding—beats anything made in this country. I never even use a mirror with the ACCUMEN, because I can actually **hear** when I have a perfect shave. Please send two additional shavers as gifts to friends.

Joel Adler, 2635 Haring Street, Brooklyn, New York
Shaving with the ACCUMEN is a pleasurable experience. I now realize that a close, non-irritating shave **is** possible with an electric. The formidable powerplant, if charged overnight, lasts for two weeks of shaves.

Roger P. Siegel, 2036 E. 22nd Street, Cleveland, Ohio
I consider your ACCUMEN the finest shaver made. It cuts fast and close and produces no razor burn. Your ad is accurate in every detail. You have a superior product.

Harry L. Hooker, Box 11, Glasgo, Connecticut
I am very pleased with the ACCUMEN. It is all you claim it to be and much more. I have recommended it to all my friends. You may count me as a loyal user.

Rev. Wm. H. Hohman, Pastor, Alliance, Ohio
Please send me another ACCUMEN Shaver. This is the third one I have ordered—my friends seem to like them too much. If this keeps up I might become your East Coast representative.

Robert Buckner, 818 N. Doheny Drive, Los Angeles 69, California
There is only one word for the ACCUMEN—"superb". Please send me another one. I want it for my son's birthday.

L. D. Myrah, Williamson Bldg., Cleveland, Ohio
The ACCUMEN is without doubt the best shaver I have ever owned—and I have had at least six different makes.

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'Gulf of Guinea Project'

Castro and Nkrumah Plan New Conquest in Africa

By GEORGE S. SCHUYLER

Fidel Castro and Kwame Nkrumah would seem to be a most unlikely conspiratorial duo, but anything can be expected of Communists. The two are presently plotting a West African "Viet Nam" which could soon become a reality, causing another headache for our State Department.

On the outskirts of ragtag Conakry, Guinea, the deposed president-dictator of Ghana has been dreaming again of control of a big bite of West Africa. This has ceased to be an idle dream because he now has the cooperation of Fidel Castro. In Moscow's Aesopian language this is known as the "Gulf of Guinea Project."

This is an ambitious, perhaps insane, plot to take over most of West Africa and fashion a huge Red "republic" comprising Portuguese Guinea and the "republics" of Guinea, Sierra Leone, Gambia, Liberia, the Ivory Coast, Ghana, Togo, Dahomey, Upper Volta, Nigeria, Cameroon, Gabon and Congo (Brazzaville).

Nkrumah, who has for long been the spearhead of the Red drive in Africa called Pan-Africanism and was one of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity (along with the deposed Ben Bella, Nasser, Haile Selassie, Sekou Toure and others), will supply the political know-how while the Cuban dictator will provide the arms and training of the cadres.

This scheme has gone beyond the sketching pad of a sulking dictator. Currently Castro is training in Cuba more than 2,000 West African dissidents, many of them refugees from the incredible poverty of Guinea. When well versed in guerrilla warfare they will rejoin a smaller force in Masenta, Guinea, ostensibly ready to try restoring Nkrumah to power in Ghana but prepared to do as they are bidden.

Mercenaries are cheap in Africa, especially if they are paid and fed. For the past five years Sekou Toure has supplied a base for the forces invading Portuguese Guinea. He is a strong admirer of Nkrumah and Fidel Castro, and will provide another base for the "Gulf of Guinea Project."

The bearded Cuban dictator is no stranger to Africa. It was he who trained the insurgents who conquered Zanzibar, incited the brief revolt of Julius Nyerere's miniscule army in Dar-es-Salaam and suppressed the abortive counter-revolution in Brazzaville, Congo, against the Communist-controlled government directed from the Red Chinese embassy.

Castro also has had experience in sending invasion forces to the Dominican Republic, Panama and Haiti and has deluged the rest of Latin America with Red propaganda. As a Communist emissary he participated in the Bogotazo in 1948 which disrupted the Pan-American Conference and gutted Bolivia's capital with Molotov cocktails tossed by the slum proletariat. Thanks to the Russians, he has big stocks of munitions for spreading mischief abroad, having cowed his own people at home.

Sekou Toure's Red training and affiliations are as venerably Communistic as those of Castro and Nkrumah. They go back to the *Rassemblement Democratique African,* a Negro branch of the French Red-controlled *Confederation Generale du Travail* founded in Bamako in 1946.

That he is reckless and ruthless was recently demonstrated when he placed the American ambassador, McIlvane, under house arrest and ousted 65 Peace Corps workers because Pan-American World Airways had made a regularly scheduled stop in Accra, Ghana, where 25 Guinean passengers were taken off by the officials.

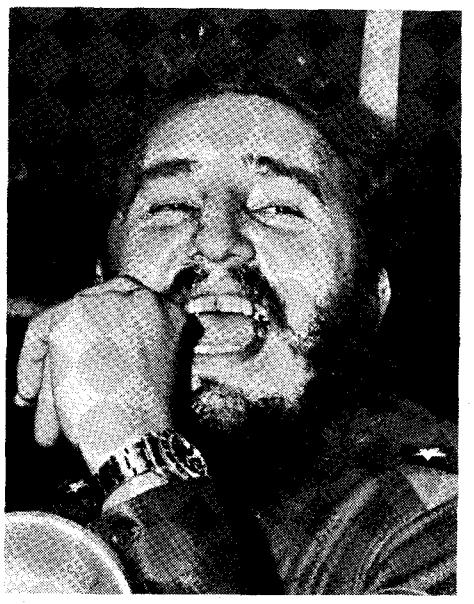
Sekou Toure was the first African leader to opt for independence from France and promptly became the first to provide the Russians with a base in Africa. The Guinean president's faith in the Soviets was only shaken once when he discovered that the Russian ambassador, D.S. Solod, was organizing the extremist Guinea youth against him, and made him take the first flight out to Moscow. This quarrel was soon patched up.

So long as Nkrumah was enthroned in Accra, he had his mercenaries trained deep in the Ghanaian bush, but when he made his ill-fated journey to Red China and the army under Gen. Ankruh promptly took power, and killed, jailed or deported his Russian-trained Praetorian guard, there was no place to go but to Guinea. There Sekou Toure welcomed him to Conakry as "co-president" and gave his entire staff asylum. The Gold Dust Twins of the Communist conspiracy were together again.

What chance do these conspirators have of making their dreams come true? They have reason for optimism. While the terrain and climate of West Africa is similar to that of Southeast Asia, the area is much more vast, with great reaches of matted jungle succeeded by plateaus and highlands. None of the countries coveted are nations in the sense that we understand nationhood, but simply conglomerations of tribal areas which interminably fought each other before the advent of the white man brought enforced peace. There are at least 600 dialects spoken with French or English providing the lingua franca.

What armed forces there are do not seem to be well-trained or stable and owe their loyalty mainly to their tribes or the politicians who with difficulty

Continued from page 10



Cuba's Fidel Castro and Ghana's ex-President Kwame Nkrumah are collaborating on a scheme to take over a large part of West Africa. The Communist bloc would presumably supply the necessary arms.

pay them; one can readily imagine a Viet Cong-type development under trained Communist supervison. The only exception is the Ghanaian Army, about brigade size, which has never been tested under fire and only last February mutinied against Nkrumah. Tribal animosities and conflicts have within the year destroyed the effectiveness of the once-touted Nigerian armed forces. The governments possess only token forces.

The conspirators have something else going for them: the Cairo-based Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, an offspring of the Bandung Conference.

Its large secretariat coordinates and directs all Communist subversion and guerrilla attacks on the continent and subsidizes all groups plotting against the weak "democratic" governments which do not toe the Red line. Previously, the cadres sent into the remote reaches of Africa were trained in schools of subversion in the Balkans, but friction between the African "students" and the white populations caused much notoriety and disillusion. So for many reasons Communist Cuba is better suited for training.

Because of their current ideological conflict, Moscow and Peking are scuffling for control of the AAPSO, but this family quarrel does not materially alter the over-all Red subversion from the Mediterranean to the Zambezi.

The agents have prepared the ground work for invasion and it is only necessary that there be a Yenan established as Mao Tse-tung did in the Chinese northwest or as Castro did in the Sierra Maestra, and cells of subversion in the *bidonvilles* ringing the swelling cities and in the new colleges. The Congo experience has shown how easily chaos can overcome even a well-organized country.

Just a glance at the map shows what a threat this Castro-Nkrumah axis can be to the United States along the South Atlantic littoral, if the effort is successful. There is no lack of recruits for this adventure, what with hundreds of thousands of refugees in Africa. There is no lack of arms from Cuba or Eastern Europe, and there is no lack of intelligent leadership. The economic underdevelopment of most of the area actually simplifies its subjugation by well-trained and armed guerrilla forces. And we may be taken unaware if the venture is successfully represented as merely a black fight for freedom and democracy.

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ANOTHER KENNEDY BOOK—The assassination of President Kennedy is apparently not the only story that Mrs. John F. Kennedy is apparently trying to monopolize. When she entered the White House, Mrs. Kennedy invited a family friend, Mrs. Mary Van Rensalaer Thayer, to write her biography so that she would not be asked to cooperate with other biographers. According to the Washington *Star*, this worked out so well for both parties that Mrs. Thayer is now doing an authorized version of Mrs. Kennedy's years in the White House.

George Schuyler, Negro journalist and author, is a frequent contributor to these pages.

How 'Warren Court' Changes Laws

There is not a word or syllable anywhere in the Constitution which sustains the position that a Supreme Court's interpretation of a constitutional provision constitutes the supreme law of the land. On the contrary, Article VI provides in unmistakable language that nothing constitutes the supreme law of the land except the Constitution, acts of Congress conforming to the Constitution and treaties made under the authority of the United States.

As appears by the *Cooper* case, however, the Warren Court now proclaims to the country that any decision it hands down on a constitutional question constitutes the supreme law of the land. If this means anything, it means that any decision by the Warren Court on a constitutional question which is inconsistent with the Constitution amends it; i.e., changes its meaning, just as effectively as an amendment adopted by the Congress and the states in accordance with Article V.

If this be true, as the Warren Court does affirm, the American people are no longer ruled by a Constitution. They are merely the subjects of a judicial oligarchy consisting of any five of the Supreme Court justices.

In making these things plain, Brent Bozell has rendered a service of transcendant importance to all Americans who deem tyranny on the bench to be as objectionable as tyranny on the throne. They will await the second volume of his projected work with the hope that it will reveal some weapons "available for the counter-revolution."

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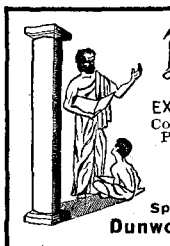

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A Minority Report on the Younger Generation

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I just ran into Ebenezer Scrooge, and we both agreed that the trouble with the festive spirit that begins about the week before Christmas and ends with the New Year is that, like a summer cold, it's so hard to shake off.

"Knocks blazes out of business," said Ebenezer. "Why, sometimes I can't bring myself to foreclose the mortgage on a widow and her six starving children until January 15, when the final installment on last year's income tax is due."

I know just how Ebenezer feels. Here, after my two-week furlough, I'm back in battle array with my six-shooters loaded and I should be taking pot-shots at some of the not-so-credible pronouncements the Administration has already made in the brief life of 1967.

The President, for example, assures us the new year will provide both better guns and yummier butter; and the welfare secretary boasts that the anti-poverty program, instituted in 1964, has so far removed 3.4 million from the poverty rolls.

Normally, such whoppers would bring my thundering jeremiads down on the heads of the offenders. But that Yuletide hangover is still with me and I fear I'll need another week to round into form.

Instead, I find I want to say something in defense of the much-maligned Younger Generation, aged 18 to 32, of whom I saw quite a bit during the holidays. In fact, since my son and his bride were here for the fortnight, this normally staid house is still swinging from the echoes of the various reunions.

I had been led to expect, from learned dissertations by so-called experts, that this was a melancholy, introspective group who despised their elders and found their standards horrendously shocking, full of lies and hypocrisy; and whose every moment was preoccupied with the dread that a nuclear holocaust, our legacy, would envelop them.

Don't you believe it. What the Younger Generation suffers from is a bad press, given it by savants who spend their days observing the activities of the abnormal few and conclude, in magazine articles and TV documentaries, that everybody is like that.

But everybody isn't. There is surely more to Berkeley than the Free Speech Movement. Indeed, I met several graduate students who told me they live off-campus because they do not care to be quartered in a place where the loud-mouthed unwashed of the "New Left" rule by default and make the nights hideous with their pot and LSD parties. "Many?" I asked. "No," said a new bride, "but how many skunks does it take to stink a place up?"

So I disagree with the specialists. I found the Younger Generation a thoroughly gay and vigorous group which enjoys life to the hilt even if it lives in the shadow of the volcano. They have manners and wash behind their ears, conformist though that may be. And they do not regard the Ten Commandments or the Constitution or even their parents as utterly outworn institutions which have made their existence totally unbearable.

I watched particularly the class of '56—my son's—whose median age was 31 and some of whom I have known since they were Cub Scouts. Most of them have done their Army hitch, and have been married about a year or two. They are—Republicans or Democrats—extremely interested in making good in their careers, and taking care of their wives and children. They are doctors, lawyers, journalists, physicists, businessmen and budding politicos. And one and all have a wholesome respect for their community and their country, and would like to be respected members thereof.

And if that is being "bourgeois" and "non-involved," let the unwashed of the "New Left" make the most of it. I think, by and large, we oldsters have nothing to be ashamed of—and a good deal to be proud of—in the generation we begot.

(Copyright 1967, Washington *Star* Syndicate)

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Constructive Action Plans New Contest

Constructive Action, Inc., the California organization which the New York *Times* calls "one of the most aggressive of the right-wing 'education and information' groups," has announced plans for a $15,000 contest for high school juniors and seniors, based upon J. Edgar Hoover's classic study of communism, *Masters of Deceit*.

An estimated half-million copies of a special edition of the book will be distributed. Any student is eligible to enter the contest by answering a series of essay and other questions that will be included with each of these special copies.

Ted Loeffler, the group's spokesman, described it as the most ambitious conservative project ever conducted at the high school level. CAI has been conducting essay contests and distributing conservative books on college campuses since 1964. Nearly four million copies of such books as *None Dare Call It Treason*, Bill Buckley's *Up From Liberalism* and *Pass the Poverty Please*, a critique of the "War on Poverty," have been circulated to date.

□ □ □

THE PRICE OF LIBERTY—"The inescapable price of liberty is an ability to preserve it from destruction."—Gen. Douglas MacArthur

Who Should Decide Who Gets Bank Credit?

By HENRY HAZLITT

The Federal Reserve Board has wisely revoked its September 1 directive to the banks demanding a curb on their loans to business. The directive should never have been issued in the first place.

The Federal Reserve may properly restrict the total credit "pool." But it is not part of its legitimate function to dictate to what particular class of borrowers loans should or should not be made.

The Fed's directive was an attempt to force the banks to adopt "voluntary" credit controls. As an enforcement weapon, the Fed threatened to withhold the use of its discount facilities from member banks that failed to "cooperate" in the system's efforts to hold down the rate of business loan expansion. This was clearly an abuse of power.

When a youngster approaches his father for a touch, Daddy may ask, "Have you been a good boy lately?" But it would hardly be considered proper for a commercial banker to raise such an issue with his customers.

The only relevant considerations, if the would-be borrower were in a lawful business, would be the safety and liquidity of the loan, the security offered, the interest rate and the length of time the loan had to run.

Similarly, the credit extended by the Federal Reserve Banks to the member banks was intended by the framers of the system to be made on a nondiscriminatory basis. The only legitimate considerations are the safety, maturity, liquidity and eligibility of the collateral offered or the solvency and liquidity of the borrowing bank.

The Fed's directive was no doubt well-intended. It found at the time the directive was issued that while total loans and investments of the banks had been growing at an annual rate of 8 per cent during the first eight months of 1966, bank lending to business had been growing at an annual rate of about 20 per cent. This seemed disproportionate.

But it is not the business of the Federal Reserve authorities to tell the member banks just how much credit they should extend to whom. Such decisions by a politically appointed body are bound to be influenced by political considerations.

By this directive and by other actions, the Fed hoped to direct relatively more funds at lower interest rates into mortgage money for housing.

The rate and availability of mortgage money have always been objects of special solicitude for the politicians. But should mortgage funds to build more luxury apartments, say, necessarily enjoy priority over loans to drug companies or to firms making hospital supplies?

And are mortgage funds for completed housing necessarily more urgent than loans to plumbing-supply firms or to manufacturers of appliances to put in the housing?

In recent years the federal government has tried to stimulate housing by special subsidies and by supplying billions of dollars of mortgage funds and guarantees. The net result of all this artificial stimulation is questionable.

What has been saved in mortgage interest seems to have been lost in higher costs of construction. Since 1957-59 average wholesale prices are up 6 per cent. Average consumer prices are up 15 per cent. But construction costs have gone up between 22 and 28 per cent.

The Federal Reserve System has all the "weapons" it needs to control the total amount of bank credit. It does not need and should not have the power to dictate who should get how much of it.

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The American-Southern Africa Council proudly presents two outstanding new books on Rhodesia and South Africa which reveal the hypocrisy of the United Nations and the Johnson Administration's Africa policy.

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by Douglas Reed

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ONE AGAINST THE MOB

by Anthony Harrigan

This new book by the editor of the Charleston **News and Courier**, whose previous books include **Red Star Over Africa** and **Guide to the War in Viet Nam** deals with how U.S.-U.N. meddling in Rhodesia may cause another war and our grim stake in Rhodesia's ordeal of independence. This book brings you a new perspective of a progressive, hardworking, liberty-loving people and a clear focus on the vital central issues . . . richly illustrated with over 60 photos! A clear case for Rhodesian independence.

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- "**One Against the Mob** is the first impartial report on Rhodesia that I have read."—Former Ambassador Philip Kingsland Crowe
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Hero of Steel Seizure Case

Judge Pine Dissents from Findings of LBJ's Crime Board

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

David A. Pine probably is best remembered, abroad in the land, as the U.S. district judge who rebuked Harry Truman in the steel seizure case. His opinion of April 29, 1952, remains to this day a shining moment in the recent history of constitutional law. Now Judge Pine has made another significant contribution to public understanding of the role of law. It too should be remembered.

Unhappily, the circumstances are quite different. Fifteen years ago Judge Pine spoke from a national spotlight. Mr. Truman had relied upon his "inherent" powers as President to justify seizure of the mills. Coldly and dispassionately, Judge Pine read him a lecture in fundamental principles: The government of the United States has no inherent powers; its limited and enumerated powers are delegated solely by the Constitution; not even a President may exceed them. To the delight of constitutional conservatives, Judge Pine found the seizure order "illegal and without authority of law." For a few days the jurist was a national figure.

Some 13 years elapsed. In the summer of 1965 President Johnson created a special commission to study crime in the District of Columbia. The President stacked this body with liberals and moderates, either 5 to 4 or 7 to 2 depending upon how one reads the litmus indications, but to lend some semblance of balance Mr. Johnson also named to the commission Judge David A. Pine. On January 2 the commission filed its ponderous two-volume report. Judge Pine dissented.

In the nature of such things, the majority's findings and recommendations properly commanded the greatest attention. Crime in Washington, to put the matter bluntly, is appalling. A great many of the majority proposals, with which Judge Pine concurred, were assuredly sound. Yet the tone of the majority report, taken as a whole, suffered from the tremolo so familiar to the liberal chorus. In this dewy-eyed view, crime is a social sickness and criminals are merely ill. Punishment is a dirty word, and brutality is something the police must guard against. An answer to crime must be found in treatment of the root causes—poverty, discrimination, ill housing. And so on.

Judge David A. Pine recalls that, despite liberal theories, there was no great upsurge of crime in the Depression.

Judge Pine turned upon his majority colleagues the same cool gaze that 15 years ago he turned on Harry Truman.

"Throughout its deliberations," he wrote, "it seemed to me the commission was concentrating on minutiae, statistics and social and economic studies. This is reflected in its report and in the voluminous reports submitted by the commission's staff. I do not disparage their relevancy or importance. Neither do I dispute that socio-economic ills are a vital causative factor in the commission of crime, and that steps should be taken to alleviate them, but there are other causes to which I think the commission might have given greater attention than it did."

Judge Pine took a backward look. During the dark days of the Depression, the country also was afflicted by abject poverty, distress and misery, "but I do not recall at that time that there was a vast upsurge in crime." Indeed, between 1931 and 1935, while the nation was gaining a million in population, most major criminal offenses actually declined.

What has produced the frightening picture that obtains today? In Judge Pine's view, it has resulted in part from abandonment of the old proposition that crime is crime and must be punished. In his own mind, "I have felt that one of the immediate, urgent ways to repress crime was swift, certain and impartial justice."

"My experience has caused me to believe," he added, "that once wrongdoers are convinced that the law is not to be trifled with and that they will be called to account for their misdeeds, crime will decrease."

His colleagues did not share that old-fashioned view. Judge Pine was perplexed to find "that some members of the commission and its staff seemed to believe it to be our responsibility to suggest means for making the lot of the wrongdoer a little easier, rather than to find ways for reducing crime."

The 75-year-old jurist devoted a large part of his dissenting statement to a clinical dissection of certain judgments of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia.

Over the past six years this court has reversed criminal convictions in 161 cases, and many of these have been flagrant cases of wide public concern. Petty legalisms, trivial technicalities and an excessive solicitude for the defendant's rights have figured in these reversals; and time after time the released defendants have promptly returned to the streets to commit new crimes. The District's rate of recidivism is shockingly high.

Judge Pine's comments doubtless will be interred in the obscurity that awaits a minority voice in a 1,800-page report. Yet history suggests that dissenters are not necessarily wrong; they may be merely outvoted at the moment. Here the judge's views did not prevail, but he was as sound in this statement as he was sound in the broadside he threw Mr. Truman 15 years ago. What a pity it is that he never made it to the highest tribunal of them all!

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Red China's Developing Civil War

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

The developing civil war between Mao's Red Guards and his "revisionist" enemies has become a sinister farce—funny if it were not so horrible.

Today, 17 years after Mao's seizure of China, his revolution threatens to devour him. Not by so-called trial and the guillotine, as in France, or by torture-induced confession, as in Russia. Mao and his friends divided the people, including the Communists, into "five red categories" (good) and "seven black categories" (bad), and set about "purging" the country of the latter, as well as of "the bourgeois reactionary line, the old ideas, customs, culture and habits, the old war, all monsters and freaks!"

But something has gone wrong. Instead of submitting quietly, the monsters, freaks and revisionists, supported by ordinary people, are unwilling to forego eating for six months or a year while Mao, "the never-setting reddest sun," solidifies his rule.

The result is an incipient civil war of which the fighting in Nanking and on those islands off Shanghai were first symptons.

For foreigners the all-important question is, where does the Chinese revolution go from here? Will Mao's teenagers succeed in suppressing the more civilized revisionists and install a new reign of terror? Or will the Red Guards' excesses and the inevitable food shortage stimulate a counter-revolution that will wipe away all forms of the Red blight?

It may well depend upon the Red Army. If the bulk of the soldiers support Mao's ally, Lin Piao, there is probably little an outraged population can do about it. Should the military flock to the other side, Mao and company may become fugitives in North Viet Nam.

Or suppose that Chiang Kai-shek, with or without American support, returns to China in a make-or-break effort to liberate his country or die. In so doing Chiang would be counting on uprisings everywhere and the partial support of Mao's opponents. Yet such an attempt might reunite the Communists and thus doom Chiang's expedition to failure.

Only time will show. But with China soon to become a nuclear power, the stake is almost as great for Americans as for Chinese.

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Continued from Page 1

LBJ Reneges on Cutback Promises

Q. What is President Johnson planning to do about the draft?

A. The President obviously wants the draft laws revised, but it is not yet public knowledge as to what specific changes he would like. The President will undoubtedly base most of his revisions on recommendations that should come shortly from the special National Advisory Committee on Selective Service, headed by Burke Marshall, a former assistant attorney general and a friend of Bobby Kennedy. Though it is by no means certain as to what the commission will recommend, it is known to be considering draft amendments which would virtually compel young men and women to work for the government in social service work if they do not participate in the military. Johnson himself has supported a proposal in which "every young man will have the opportunity—and feel the obligation—to give at least a few years of his or her life to service of others in this nation and this world."

Q. Does President Johnson plan to go ahead with the Demonstration Cities program passed last year?

A. Requesting that Congress appropriate the full amount of money previously authorized, LBJ is going full steam ahead on this program to "rehabilitate" the cities with slum clearance and urban renewal funds. His Housing and Urban Department Secretary Robert Weaver announced last week that Congress will be asked to spend $400 million in fiscal 1968 alone.

Having already approved grants to some 65 cities, Weaver says another 350 cities "can be identified as being ready, able and willing to receive planning grants." An additional 1,000 cities, he said, are "in the process" of drawing up applications for funds.

The full five-year program calls for government spending of $2.3 billion "over and above what is already being spent on existing" grant-in-aid programs for the cities. Under this revolutionary plan the federal government can effectively dictate rules and regulations governing any city that decides to use this program's funds. (Government officials have now officially renamed the Demonstration Cities program the Model Cities program. They were concerned, they say, that "Demonstration Cities" might be confused with racial demonstrations.)

Q. What are the President's proposals on civil rights?

A. The President indicated he would continue to introduce additional civil rights bills that will apply to juries and jobs. In spite of the decisive defeat of "open housing" legislation last year, LBJ suggested he would press for some new form of "fair housing" law. A number of civil rights groups, however, are disappointed that the President refused to touch on the issue of "home rule" for the District of Columbia—an issue he has previously championed with enthusiasm but which has failed to ignite Congress.

Q. What does he plan to do about the growing threat of offensive and defensive missiles being deployed by the Soviet Union?

A. Johnson's reaction to mounting Soviet military strength has alarmed defense experts in Washington. In his State of the Union message, Johnson admitted that the "Soviet Union in the past year increased its long-range missile capabilities. It has begun to place near Moscow," he continued, "a limited anti-missile defense." Yet to cope with this obvious threat, Johnson refused to call upon Congress to deploy America's own anti-missile system or increase the outlay for inter-continental ballistic missiles.

Instead, Johnson said he would face this problem by seeking a disarmament treaty with the Soviets that would apply to "both conventional and nuclear weapons and defenses." Thus, while the Soviets press forward with building up their defenses and offenses, the United States will counter this threat with an attempt to get the Soviets to negotiate a disarmament treaty.

Q. Will President Johnson continue to placate the Soviets and their Communist allies in Europe?

A. In an apparent effort to "win" the Soviets to our side, President Johnson plans to offer them a vast array of concessions. His State of the Union message boasted that the United States has "agreed to open direct air flights with the Soviet Union; removed more than 400 non-strategic items from export control; determined that the Export-Import Bank can allow commercial credits to Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia, as well as Rumania and Yugoslavia. . . . ."

The President said he will also urge the Congress to help our foreign and commercial trade policies by passing an East-West trade bill and approving our consular convention with the Soviet Union."

Q. Will Congress follow the President's lead on this trade?

A. Congress is not likely to give the President what he wants as long as the war is on in Viet Nam. The East-West trade bill was squashed in the previous, heavily Democratic Congress and there is little likelihood that it will pass this time—at least not in the form the President desires. There is always the possibility, however, that the large portion of the business community which favors trading with Communist nations will pressure congressmen into changing their votes.

The Senate is also said to still oppose the consular treaty which would permit the Soviets to establish consulates in some of our biggest cities. FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover has vigorously opposed opening such consulates, warning that they will become spy havens for the Soviets. As long as Hoover opposes the treaty, say Senate lawmakers, the chances of its passing are not great.

Q. What is President Johnson's purpose in asking that the Department of Commerce be combined with the Department of Labor into a new Department of Business and Labor?

A. President Johnson says this merger can create "a more economical, efficient and modern instrument," but there are many who fear the President basically desires to give Big Labor control over the thousands of activities now run by the Commerce Department, which has something of a pro-business orientation. This view is strengthened by the fact that White House sources are stressing that LBJ would pick current Labor Secretary Willard Wirtz or another man with a union background to head up the new department and that several Labor Department men are saying the merger has the approval of AFL-CIO President George Meany. Sen. Wallace F. Bennett (R.-Utah), a member of the Finance Committee, has flatly asserted that "This means Commerce will be subservient to Labor."

Q. What else has LBJ promised to do for labor?

A. Aside from supporting the merger of the Departments of Labor and Commerce, LBJ did not call for specific labor legislation in his State of the Union message. Solidly defeated in his campaign to kill right-to-work, the President did not reiterate his call for repeal of 14b. Neither did he call upon Congress to ease the sanctions against common situs picketing or to impose greater federal controls on the unemployment compensation system. These three issues are dear to the hearts of the labor bosses, however, and some special presidential message on them can be expected before too long.

Q. What does LBJ propose to do in the federal power field?

A. Experts say that he will continue to campaign for a federal grid system and that he will seek legislation to impose strict federal safety rules on natural gas pipelines. Such a safety measure, which would be costly to the consumer, was introduced in Congress last year, but got nowhere after only two days of hearings. Now that the President has mentioned it in his State of the Union address, however, Capitol Hill expects a White House push for the pipeline bill similar to the successful campaign last year to pass auto safety legislation.

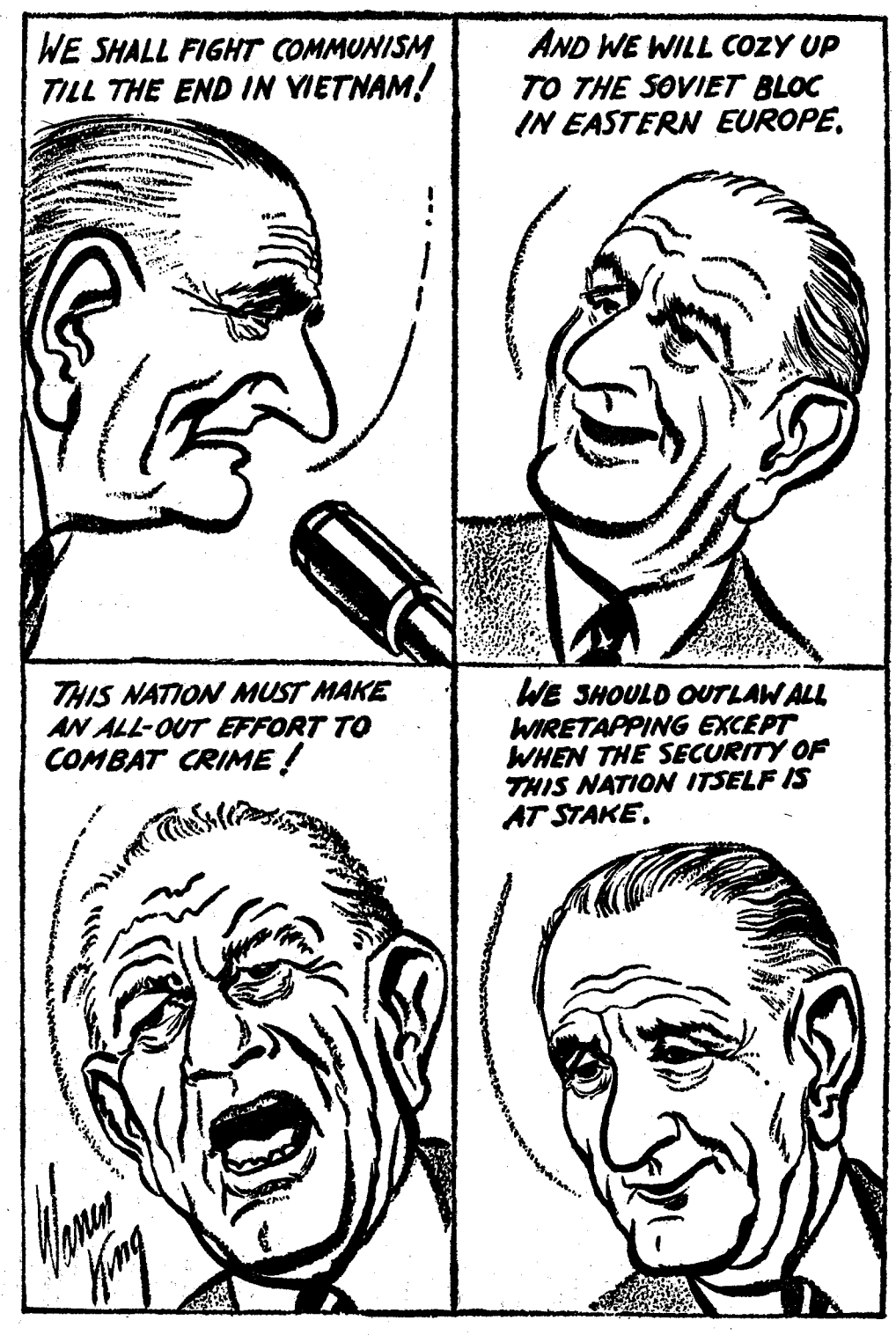
Q. What is the President's program to battle crime?

A. LBJ is urging Congress to pass the Crime Control Act of 1967, which is supposed to help local police improve their training and techniques. To implement this piece of legislation, LBJ says the federal government will need to spend more than $2 billion over the next five years.

Conservative-minded lawmakers who are very concerned with curbing criminals, however, will study the measure closely since there is some fear the Johnson plan could result in the eventual creation of a national police force. A number of observers are saying that Johnson could accomplish his objective of lowering the crime rate at a cheaper price and more easily by appointing some good judges to the federal courts.

Another step the President is being asked to take: support the crime bill for the District of Columbia. This crime bill, which provided stiffer penalties for criminals, was vetoed by LBJ last year but has already been re-introduced this year. With the greater conservative strength in Congress this year, there is a good chance the measure could be passed even over a presidential veto.

STUDY IN INCONSISTENCY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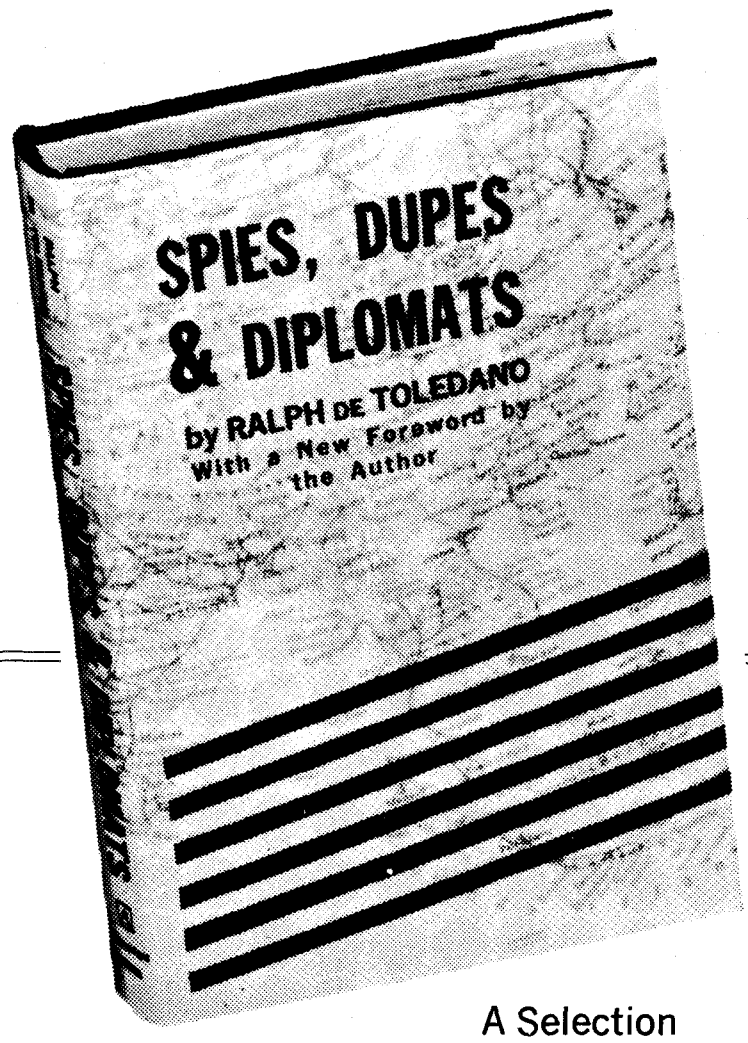

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by Ralph de Toledano

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